DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 389 864 CE 070 338

AUTHOR	Froissart, Catherine; And Others
TITLE	Vocational Guidance Needs for Various Target Groups of Young People under the Age of 28 in France. National Report. CEDEFOP Panorama. First Edition.
INSTITUTION	European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, Berlin (Germany).
PUB DATE	95
NOTE	124p.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Education; *Career Counseling; *Career Guidance; *Counseling Objectives; Counseling Services; *Educational Needs; Employment Qualifications; Field Studies; Foreign Countries; *Job Applicants; National Surveys; Needs Assessment; Secondary Education; Sociocultural Patterns; Student Attitudes; Tables (Data); Vocational Education; Work Attitudes; Young Adults; *Youth Employment; Youth Opportunities
IDENTIFIERS	*France

ABSTRACT

A field survey examined the vocational guidance needs of two groups of people 25 years or younger in France: youths undergoing initial training in vocational-technical education (VTE) and young job seekers who are potential candidates for achieving level V vocational qualifications. Interviews were conducted with youths from two different regions that have suffered losses of industrial jobs: Haute-Normandie and Lorraine. Students enrolled in VTE were generally dissatisfied with available guidance services and used them as little as possible. It was recommended that existing services for VTE students be rooted more strongly in real life and focus on helping them find work that will enrich them financially and/or personally. The young job seekers had mixed reactions toward available guidance services. Vocational guidance appeared to be keeping most young unqualified job seekers in a position of exclusion that reinforced their low self-image. The need for services to help students and young job seekers achieve geographic and social mobility was emphasized. Appendices include a list of target groups analyzed in this and related European Community member state studies and information about France's secondary-level VTE training streams and 5-year law regarding VTE. (Contains 11 tables and 74 references.) (MN)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

CEDEFOP

ED 389 864

panorama

Vocational guidance needs for various target groups of young people under the age of 28 in France

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

- This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
- Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

CE 070 332

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CEDEFOP panorama

Vocational guidance needs for various target groups of young people under the age of 28 in France

Catherine Froissart
François Menard
Yamina Bensadoune
FORS
Recherche Sociale
28, rue Godefroy Cavaingnac
F-75011 Paris
Tel.: 40 09 15 12, Fax: 40 09 15 32

February 1994

1st edition, Berlin 1995

Edited by:
CEDEFOP – European Centre for the
Development of Vocational Training
Jean Monnet House,
Bundesallee 22, D-10717 Berlin
Tel.: 49-30+88 41 20
Fax: 49-30+88 41 22 22
Telex: 184 163 eucen d

The Centre was established by Regulation (EEC) No 337/75 of the Council of the European Communities, last amended by Council Regulation (EC) No 1131/94 of 16 May 1994.

National report

3

Cataloguing data can be found at the end of this publication.

Berlin: CEDEFOP – European Centre for the Development
of Vocational Training, 1995

1st edition, Berlin 1995

Reproduction is authorized, except for commercial purposes,
provided the source is acknowledged.

Printed in Germany

CONTENTS

Preface by CEDEFOP p. 1

INTRODUCTION p. 3
Method p. 5
Target groups and field survey p. 6

1. GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE 15-28 AGE GROUP p. 10
1.1. Statistics p. 10
1.2. Sociological considerations p. 22

2. INSTRUMENTS FOR CONTACT, INFORMATION AND COUNSELLING p. 28
2.1. Guidance during initial training p. 29
2.2. Structures to contact young job seekers p. 40

3. PROFILES, NEEDS AND STRATEGIES OF YOUNG PEOPLE p. 58
3.1. Young people in initial training p. 58
3.2. Young job seekers p. 70

CONCLUSION: THE ISSUE OF MOBILITY p. 94

BIBLIOGRAPHY p. 100

APPENDIX p. 105

Preface by CEDEFOP

In developing the careers of young people and integrating them into working life, career guidance is becoming increasingly important. Persistent, structurally-caused unemployment, higher qualification requirements, complex training paths with eased transition between initial and continuing training, the increasing deregulation of the labour market and the emergence of new values and life styles among young people present career guidance services, as the instrument for regulating supply and demand on training, education and labour markets, with fundamental and complex tasks. At the same time, European integration poses new challenges to the career guidance services in the Member States. The PETRA 3 programme has taken an initial step in this direction through setting up European-oriented national resource centres, through organizing transitional continuing training courses for occupational guidance counsellors and publishing the "European Manual for Occupational Guidance Counsellors".

The comparative studies[1] carried out by CEDEFOP and Task Force: Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth to support and monitor work in this field have increased transparency in national occupational guidance systems and qualification structures.

The activities and research work carried out aimed primarily to make proposals or provide support for improving occupational guidance activities, to focus such work in a European context on the basis of existing national structures. Counselling requirements were deduced from existing or forecasted demand (enquiries at guidance services) or from general data derived from labour market and occupational research.

To date the needs of various target groups of young people based on their economic and social and cultural situation, their values, their career plans, their conception of the efficiency of occupational guidance offers etc. have not been taken into account.

This issue was examined in the project "Determination of (occupational) guidance needs for various groups of young people under 28 years of age in the European Union", carried out between March 1993 and May 1994, the results of which are now available (12 national reports, in the original language and English, partly in French, the synthesis report in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish).

A total of 21 target groups were examined; nine of the reports examined two of the groups and three reports examined one target group. Particular attention was devoted to young people at a particular disadvantage who had no or inadequate access to occupational guidance services. The target groups selected are listed in the appendices of the 12 national reports and the synthesis report as the aims and findings of the project - as stressed in the synthesis report - can only be viewed in the context of the interrelationships between the various elements. The national reports have been published in separate editions as certain readers are interested

---

[1] Occupational profiles and training in occupational guidance counselling, CEDEFOP, 1992, 12 national studies and synthesis report.
Educational and vocational guidance services for youth and young adults in the EC, European Commission, 1993, 12 national reports and synthesis report. As a supplement:
EUROCOUNSEL, Counselling and long-term unemployment, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, Dublin, 1992-1993, 6 national studies and synthesis report.

in specific target groups whose problems in finding training and work have supra-national features which are characteristic of other target groups which we selected.

This project was commissioned by Task Force: Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth as part of the PETRA 3 programme aiming to produce indicators for differentiated and demand-oriented occupational guidance practices and to create more offensive planning strategies to reach as far as possible those target groups which were excluded from guidance counselling for the reasons contained in the reports. New proposals are being formulated at present to prepare the gradual transition to the "LEONARDO DA VINCI Programme".

Enrique Retuerto de la Torre
Deputy Director

Gesa Chomé
Project Coordinator

INTRODUCTION

In France, educational and vocational guidance for young people, and more precisely the issue of counselling, can be viewed from three different angles:

- as a means of improving the extent to which the education and training systems are able to fulfil the expectations of pupils independently of their social status but in terms of their aptitudes,

- as a tool to regulate the access of young people to an employment market where certain sectors are either saturated or depressed,

- and finally, as an instrument to support, formalize or focus the integration routes of young people excluded from both the employment market and initial training and having little or no qualifications.

These three views of guidance in France provoke responses which are themselves varied and complex, and often disputed as to their relevance and efficacy (more, perhaps, than true evaluations). It is particularly difficult to gain an overall impression of the issue, as institutional responses include highly differing programmes depending on whether they target young people still in initial training (particularly within the education system) or young, non-qualified job seekers.

The task set by CEDEFOP is an analysis of the correlation between the "supply of guidance services", the various groups of young people involved (16-28-year-olds) as well as their practices and needs in terms of educational and vocational guidance (focusing particularly on the social and geographic mobility of these young people).

The discussions held at the CEDEFOP offices between the teams from the various Member States prior to the beginning of the project led to a selection of the "target groups" each team would use as a basis to approach and report on these issues.
A few pages further down, we will describe the nature of the target groups we chose for France.
But before this is done, we want to give an overview of the methodological choices made by the French team in view of the situation in France and the knowledge of the issue.
The presentation of the results of our research will begin with a brief look at the situation of young people in France in terms of education and schooling and in terms of unemployment, work and vocational training. We will also briefly present recent analyses on the integration and socialization of young people in France today.
We will then describe the instruments available to contact, inform and counsel young people on issues related to school and vocational career, distinguishing between guidance for pupils in initial training and guidance for young job seekers.
As a next point, we will present the opinions, attitudes and strategies of young people regarding guidance as it is offered today, placing special emphasis on the issue of mobility.
And finally, we will conclude our report with a few remarks on the strengths and weaknesses of the educational and vocational guidance system in France and on what it offers to this particular target group and in terms of the questions included in the CEDEFOP task-setting objectives.

Method

The method we have chosen for this study, as we have already mentioned, was selected in view of aspects particular to the situation in France and of the current level of knowledge of the issue.

In view of the large number of studies and evaluations carried out in the area of vocational training and instruments for the integration of unemployed young people, **we have based a major part of our current study on the exploitation of an already existing corpus of data**. On the whole, this corpus consists of research projects and evaluations commissioned by organizations and ministries involved in education and vocational training (the Ministry of Education and the "Délégation à la Formation Professionnelle" in particular) and implemented either internally by these bodies, by university research groups, or by independent organizations appointed to do so. The bibliography includes a list of published material available in this area.

We have also drawn on elements of our own previous research in this area, particularly on job seekers and their reactions to the new training and integration instruments available to them within the scope of the CFI ("Crédit Formation Individualisé") and PAQUE ("Préparation Active à la QUalification et à l'Emploi") programmes - please consult the bibliography for exact references.

However, in spite of the number of projects involved, most of this research activity (our own and other material we have drawn on) does not provide complete coverage of the field of study: the projects carried out until now are merely partial analyses, or too general, or "outdated" at times, or applying to particular locations only. This is why we have decided to round off this study with **a field survey among young people (both pupils and job seekers) belonging to the target groups we had chosen as the object of this study**.

Target groups and field survey

The target groups

At the meetings held in the Berlin CEDEFOP offices when this project was launched, each team proposed two target groups which it would study at greater depth.
These target groups were selected on the basis of several criteria drawn from the analytical matrix proposed at the outset by the programme coordination team and from the exchanges which had already taken place, taking into account national and regional situations in the participating countries and the methodological choices made by the various teams.

We decided on two relatively large target groups, not limited by geographic criteria, social origins or membership in particular social groups.

- The first consists of young people undergoing initial training in technical and vocational education (excluding apprenticeships) at levels V and IV[1].

- The second consists of young job seekers aged between 16 and 25, potential candidates for achieving level V vocational qualification through various training instruments (in particular the CFI programme).

We limited our sample to a maximum age of 25 mainly because in France instruments aimed specifically at young people are limited to this age group and because some more "general" integration procedures (such as "RMI") exclude the under-25s. This cut is, therefore, a boundary past which there is no longer a true distinction between young people and adults.

---

1 This corresponds roughly to level III of the European classification.

The field survey

The objective of this part of the project was to provide more precise information on young people's perception of educational and vocational guidance counselling, and on social views of guidance and mobility as well as on the practices involved in seeking counselling or information.
We also wanted our analysis to include parameters susceptible of affecting the views and practices of young people towards guidance: local economic context, proximity to another Community country, etc.
The field survey is, then, a basically qualitative study aiming at providing significant information on the reality under investigation and not an exhaustive point of view on this reality. The survey was based on individual and group interviews with young people as well as with guidance counsellors in the various programmes. We limited ourselves to a basically urban environment, which does not exclude the presence in our sample of young people coming from a rural background (there were simply no specific questions on this point).

Our survey was carried out in two different regions: Haute-Normandie and Lorraine.

- Haute-Normandie is a region hit particularly hard by the economic crisis, primarily as a result of the gradual closing of high-manpower industrial plants (textile, automotive, chemical). It has suffered through a drastic loss of industrial jobs, which has been only partially compensated by job creation in the tertiary sector.
  The 1990 unemployment rate for this region was 12.6 % of the working population, a figure which is above the national average. Haute-Normandie also has a particularly high number of poorly qualified unemployed; highly qualified jobs in the region (managers, intellectual professions) make up a mere 3.4 % of the market (Source: INSEE, population census). Many of the poorly qualified unemployed are young people between the ages of 16 and 25. The reference location is the city of Rouen (approx. 100,000 inhabitants).

- The Lorraine region was the first area of France to suffer from the economic crisis, due to the massive decline in the iron and steel industry which started in the late 1970s. A policy of retraining iron and steel workers, initiated and run by the public authorities and involving "retraining basins", was implemented in the early 1980s, but it is still too early to judge its long-term effects. The issue of qualification is, therefore, particularly vital in this region, as is the question of guidance, as the traditional mechanisms of social reproduction are no longer operating in the same manner.
  Another reason why Lorraine is an interesting area for this study is its geographical border location. We have chosen the town of Thionville (approx. 40,000 inhabitants), near Luxembourg, as the site of our survey, in order to test the mobility variable in a zone where daily cross-border exchanges are numerous.

The target groups of the survey correspond to those of the project:

- *pupils in technical and vocational streams at levels V and IV.*
  We carried out group interviews with four groups in a technical stream (1st year F2, 2nd year TSA [Technology of Automated Systems], 2nd year technical stream, 1st year F2), and four groups in a vocational stream (electro-technical "BEP" [Certificate of Vocational Studies], vocational "bac" in electronic maintenance, electro-mechanical "BEP", "BEP" in hotel trade and catering), a total of 76 pupils in Rouen and in Thionville (cf. appendix for details of streams and links between them).

- *young job seekers between 16 and 25 years of age in the CFI programme.*
  For this target group we referred mostly to the existing corpus of available data[2], but we also conducted ten or so interviews to round off the information at our disposal.

In order to understand the expectations young people have in terms of guidance, we examined the following factors in each group we interviewed:

- schooling until now (routes, strategies, failures, orientation, expectations);
- sources of information tapped (utilization or non-utilization of resources and formal means, recourse to informal or family networks etc.);
- pupils' attitudes towards information sources (ignorance, access difficulties, satisfaction or dissatisfaction, etc.)
- pupils' views on employment and qualification (value of particular streams or diplomas, of professions, strategies or attitudes linked to these views, etc.).

The bibliographical research and the field survey, particularly among school pupils, were carried out by Yamina BENSADOUNE (doctoral student at Rouen University); the survey of young job seekers was done by Catherine FROISSART (FORS-Recherche Sociale); the project (texts and surveys) was coordinated by François MENARD (FORS-Recherche Sociale).

---

2 In particular, we used the following studies:
- R. Coudray, *Audit participatif des situations et pratiques de bilan dans le dispositif CFI*, région de Bourgogne, 1991.
- L. Dubouchet, E. Gallon, G. Neyrand et al., *Insertion sociale et professionnelle, la performance des réseaux insitutionnels à Toulon*, COPAS, 1989.
- Cl. Pargny, *Enquête sur le bilan du CFI*, DRFP Poitou-Charentes, 1990.
- C. Froissart, F. Abbaléa, *Analyse de l'impact des stages de préparation à l'emploi sur le devenir des jeunes de 16 à 25 ans*, FORS, Paris, 1989.
- C. Froissart, *Evaluation du programme PAQUE, projet pilote par ASFOR Lorraine*, FORS, Paris, 1993.
- F. Darty, *Evaluation du programme PAQUE, projet de l'AFPA, Yutz, Moselle Lorraine*, FORS-Recherche Sociale, Paris, 1993.

1. GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE 15-28 AGE GROUP

1.1. STATISTICS

French pupils now tend to stay in school longer than in previous years. Since the 1950s, there has been an increasing tendency in the total numbers of pupils. This growth, although due partly to the natural population growth, is based primarily on the extensive development of the second cycle of secondary education, particularly general and technical education.

Pupil numbers in state and private secondary education since 1958

in thousands

School year	Total	1st secondary cycle	2nd general & technical cycle	2nd vocational cycle	Special education
1958-59	1,844	1,174	340	330	///
1959-60	2,055	1,310	381	364	///
1960-61	2,258	1,453	422	383	///
1961-62	2,478	1,601	479	396	///
1962-63	2,759	1,721	570	468	///
1964-64	2,917	1,774	648	495	///
1964-65	3,056	1,814	714	528	///
1965-66	3,225	1,901	763	561	///
1966-67	3,336	1,977	785	574	///
1967-68	3,532	2,140	783	609	///
1968-69	3,833	2,390	759	668	16
1969-70	4,119	2,619	816	664	20
1970-71	4,315	2,779	852	651	33
1971-72	4,528	2,928	893	657	50
1972-73	4,727	3,034	942	687	64
1973-74	4,800	3,090	941	694	75
1974-75	4,869	3,125	946	713	85
1975-76	4,965	3,163	962	746	94
1976-77	5,052	3,196	998	752	106
1977-78	5,060	3,170	1,025	756	109
1978-79	5,096	3,156	1,062	761	117
1979-80	5,128	3,151	1,093	764	120
1980-81	5,138	3,138	1,104	773	123
1981-82	5,176	3,146	1,116	790	124
1982-83	5,259	3,200	1,130	805	124
1983-84	5,351	3,270	1,145	811	125
1984-85	5,436	3,330	1,163	817	126
1985-86	5,492	3,347	1,210	806	129
1986-87	5,522	3,334	1,286	773	129
1987-88	5,513	3,287	1,360	738	128
1988-89	5,510	3,225	1,447	711	127
1989-90	5,516	3,157	1,530	705	124
1990-91	5,526	3,136	1,573	697	121
1991-92	5,582	3,168	1,578	667	119

1 Special education sections and workshop-class groups are usually integrated in junior secondary schools and teach children with slight deficiencies. Regional institutions for adapted education teach children with profound deficiencies or children with severe handicaps.
Source: Ministry of Education and Culture - Department of evaluation and planning (DEP).

Secondary school pupil numbers grew only slightly in the course of the 1980s (+ 8 %); between 1985 and 1990 this increase was, in fact, only 1 %. The apparent stabilization conceals two broad trends moving in opposite directions. The first of these is the coming of age of the generation born in the mid-seventies, at a time when birth rates were exceptionally low. The effects of this demographic trough are particularly obvious at junior secondary level, where numbers dropped by almost 200,000, and vocational teaching, with a drop of 100,000.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Pupil numbers in secondary education

in thousands

Level	1981-82	1983-84	1985-86	1987-88	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92
First cycle	**3,146**	**3,270**	**3,345**	**3,287**	**3,157**	**3,135**	**3,168**
6th-3rd years, general	2,960	3,115	3,189	3,078	2,932	2,919	2,972
4th and 3rd years, technical	-	-	15	93	152	160	158
"CPPN-CPA"*	186	155	141	116	73	56	38
2nd cycle, vocational	**790**	**811**	**806**	**738**	**705**	**697**	**687**
"CAP" and "CEP"*	439	445	413	292	156	116	87
"BEP"*	351	366	392	418	477	487	486
Vocational "baccalauréat"	-	-	1	28	72	94	114
Senior secondary school	**1,218**	**1,258**	**1,345**	**1,519**	**1,724**	**1,789**	**1,816**
2nd to final years	1,114	1,142	1,208	1,358	1,528	1,571	1,576
Post-"baccalauréat" classes ("CPGE", "STS")*	104	116	137	161	196	218	240
Secondary school (excl. post-"baccalauréat")	**5,050**	**5,223**	**5,359**	**5,383**	**5,390**	**5,403**	**5,431**

Source: Ministry of Education and Culture - Department of evaluation and planning (DEP)

The second of the two opposing trends is the increasing popularity of education. This becomes obvious right from the first cycle, with more and more pupils heading for 3rd year. Indeed, the 5th year no longer represents a guidance plateau. The technical 4th year, established in 1985, is meant to allow pupils to keep options open for continuing their education, but in most cases it leads to two-year BEP courses. This has resulted in a substantial reduction in numbers of pupils going into pre-vocational or apprenticeship preparatory classes (CPPN - CPA) or three-year BEP courses. At the same time, the popularity of general education has continued to grow: numbers of 3rd-year leavers going on to 2nd year grew by 10 percentage points in 10 years, with equivalent reductions in numbers leaving the education system or going into BEP classes.

Senior secondary schools have experienced a growing proportion of young people in each age group: 57 % of 15-16 year-olds now go into 2nd year in comparison with 38 % in 1981. This upward trend was particularly strong between 1986 and 1990: + 13 percentage points in four years.

---

* Translator's note:
CPPN - "Classe pré-professionnelle de niveau" [pre-vocational class]
CPA - "Classe de pré-apprentissage" [apprenticeship preparatory class]
CAP - "Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle" [certificate of vocational aptitude]
CEP - "Certificat d'éducation professionnelle" [vocational education certificate]
BEP - "Brevet d'études professionnelles" [certificate of vocational studies]
CPGE - "Classe préparatoire aux Grandes Ecoles" [preparatory class to higher education]
STS - "Section de technicien supérieur" [higher technical section]

Pupils' orientation

in %

Level	1981	1986	1991
On completing 5th year:			
to general 4th	76.1	79.6	85.0
to technical 4th	-	3.5	8.9
to 4th, "CAP"-preparatory ("CPPN-CPA")	22.8	14.1	4.4
On completing general 3rd year:			
to 2nd	61.2	65.6	71.2
to "BEP"	27.6	26.1	24.7
On completing "BEP"			
to a vocational "baccalauréat"	-	5.0	29.2
to a technical "baccalauréat" (2nd and 1st years)	11.8	23.1	21.2

Source: Ministry of Education and Culture - Department of evaluation and planning (DEP)
Explanation: of 1,000 pupils leaving 5th year at the end of the 1990-91 school year, 850 entered into a general 4th the following year. 1,000 - 850 - 89 - 44, i.e. 17, leave the school system for apprenticeships, working life, etc.

Percentage of a generation going into 2nd year and into "BEP" classes[1]

in %

Year	to 2nd year	to "BEP" 1st year
1981	38.2	19.8
1982	38.2	19.5
1983	39.5	20.3
1984	39.8	21.3
1985	41.5	21.5
1986	42.9	21.9
1987	46.3	22.9
1988	49.5	24.8
1989	53.8	26.6
1990	55.9	27.8
1991	57.2	29.0

1 These figures include a small amount of overlapping, representing pupils switching from one stream to the other.
Source: Ministry of Education and Culture, Department of evaluation and planning (DEP)

In the second vocational cycle, numbers of pupils attending three-year CAP courses have dropped significantly: from more than 400,000 to less than 100,000 within a few years, while the 160,000 pupils in technical classes are now counted as belonging to the first-cycle.

On the other hand and as a result of their orientation towards jobs in the tertiary sector and because of the broader general education they offer, BEP courses enjoy growing degree of popularity.

Beyond 3rd year, the overall trend is very clearly a significant increase in numbers of pupils potentially heading for a "baccalauréat": some (second-year pupils) are specifically preparing a "bac", while the others (BEP pupils) increasingly head towards it. More than 80 % of one age group currently reach these levels: 86 % in 1991 as compared with 58 % ten years earlier.

In recent years, several features have characterized and strengthened this growing tendency towards second-cycle education. Senior secondary pupils have been showing increased perseverance in their efforts to achieve a "baccalauréat", in four years if necessary. As for the BEP, it is less and less the end of education: more than half the pupils in BEP courses go on to higher levels, as compared with one tenth only ten years ago.

Percentage of a generation going into "baccalauréat" level (level IV) and percentage obtaining the diploma

in %

Year	to "baccalauréat" level	% achieving "baccalauréat"			
		Total	General	Technical	Vocational
1966	20.6	12.8	12.8	-	-
1971	28.4	21.4	17.3	4.1	-
1976	31.1	23.9	17.9	6.0	-
1981	33.5	26.0	18.7	7.3	-
1986	38.2	31.2	21.1	10.1	-
1987	40.8	32.6	21.7	10.8	0.1
1988	44.9	36.3	24.0	11.5	0.8
1989	49.5	39.8	25.8	12.3	1.7
1990	54.0	43.5	27.9	12.8	2.8
1991	58.3	47.5	30.6	13.0	3.9

Source: Ministry of Education and Culture - Department of evaluation and planning (DEP)

Rate of immediate access of pupils with "baccalauréat" to higher education

in %

	1980	1985	1989	1990
GENERAL "BAC"				
Univ. excl. "IUT"	64.8	64.2	65.8	66.9
"IUT"*	8.1	9.0	8.2	8.4
"CPGE"*	12.6	14.0	13.8	13.5
"STS"*	9.6	12.7	11.7	12.2
Others	nd	11.3	9.5	9.3
TECH. "BAC"				
Univ. excl. "IUT"	18.7	27.7	24.5	23.1
"IUT"	13.2	9.7	8.0	7.8
"CPGE"	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.1
"STS"	22.3	31.2	42.9	45.8
Others	nd	6.9	5.5	5.5
TOTAL				
Univ. excl. "IUT"	51.8	52.3	52.6	53.2
"IUT"	9.5	9.2	8.2	8.2
"CPGE"	9.3	9.8	9.8	9.6
"STS"	13.2	18.7	21.7	22.7
Others	nd	9.8	8.2	8.1

Source: Ministry of Education and Culture - Department of evaluation and planning (DEP)

Nowadays, more than 50 % of young people in fact reach the end of secondary education and sit the "baccalauréat" examinations. As nine tenths of applicants obtain the diploma, either directly or after one failed attempt, nearly 50 % of the members of one age group have a "baccalauréat". This represents an increase of 20 % as compared with 1981.

The following more detailed figures showing the changes in pupil numbers in senior secondary schools bear witness to the increasing popularity of the "baccalauréat": between 1983 and 1988, a 28 % rise at the level of 2nd year-BEP, up to 46 % in final year two years later (including vocational "terminale"), leading to 56 % more "baccalauréats". And as post-"baccalauréat" streams in senior secondary schools account for a growing proportion of these increased figures, pupil numbers in preparatory courses to higher education (CPGE) and in advanced technician sections (STS) have gone up by 63 % in five years.

The tendency to go on to higher education after a general "baccalauréat" has been the norm for a long time now. Pupils being granted technical "baccalauréats", who originally did not go on very often, now do so increasingly: whereas one out of two went on to higher education ten years ago, the current figure is three out of four. And even among pupils achieving a vocational "bac", who are not actually intended to continue on to higher education, more than 20 % continue, for the most part in STS courses.

Pupil numbers in final secondary year, according to stream

in thousands

Stream	1981-82	1986-87	1991-92
A	62.1	66.5	96.7
B	55.1	69.6	99.2
C	44.2	45.1	76.0
D	75.0	64.5	82.1
E	8.5	7.6	12.1
General	**244.8**	**253.4**	**366.1**
F	45.4	51.1	63.0
G + H	67.2	85.3	105.8
"BT"	8.1	10.5	12.0
Technical	**120.6**	**146.9**	**180.8**
Vocational	-	**1.2**	**49.8**
Total	**365.4**	**401.5**	**596.7**

Source: Ministry of Education and Culture - Department of evaluation and planning (DEP)

Majors within final secondary year streams

A: Major in arts or literature
B: Economics and social sciences
C: Mathematics and physical sciences
D: Mathematics and natural sciences
E: Science and technology
F: Industrial major (except for F8 (medical-social sciences) and F11 (music and dance)
G: Secretarial, accounting, commercial
H: Information technology
BT: "Brevet de technicien"*

* Translator's note:
BT - "Brevet de technicien" [technician's certificate]
IUT - "Institut universitaire de technologie" [technological institute of higher learning]
CPGE - "Classe préparatoire aux Grandes Ecoles" [preparatory class to higher education]
STS - "Section de technicien supérieur" - [advanced technician section]

This increasing appeal of the "baccalauréat" is partially the consequence of its diversification. More than 20 years ago, an industrial stream and a tertiary stream were added to the traditional literary and scientific streams of general education; a more recent addition has been the vocational "bac". More than half of the overall increase recorded since 1981 is attributable to a rise in pupil numbers in general education, one quarter to increases in the technical stream, and one fifth to the vocational stream. Within the final year of senior secondary school (the "terminale" year) technical streams had been growing in popularity since their introduction, accounting for 37 % of pupils in 1985. Percentages in general education had been dropping, particularly "A" majors during the seventies and "D" majors during the eighties. The number of graduates with "C" majors remained low, barely 4 % of any one age group. Controlled growth for the more popular streams continued to ensure highly selective acceptance. This tendency was reversed towards the end of the eighties: the relative popularity of general streams went from 63 to 67 % due to the strong increases in stream C, then A and B.

After increasing preponderance over the years, the "G" stream is now less sought-after, effectively checking an excessive trend towards jobs in the tertiary sector. In spite of rather inciting policies, the "F" stream is evolving in the same direction, due to a loss of popularity of industrial fields.

School-leaving age has increased markedly since 1985, and this is a trend which has accelerated in the past few years: 43 % of 16-25-year-olds were attending school in March 1991, as compared with 32 % in 1985. Currently 95 % of young people aged 16-17 are either at school or in apprenticeships. For the 18-21 age range, the proportion is 1 to 2[1].

From a total population of 700,000 school-leavers each year, 200,000 do so without a diploma, i.e. at levels VI and V_2. This figure has been dropping slowly over the last fifteen years (- 47 % from 1976 to 1986 for level V_2 and - 25 % for level VI), but this downward trend seems to have slowed markedly in the last few years.

Vocational integration for these young people remains difficult. The situation of young people leaving junior secondary level or a vocational senior secondary school without a diploma in June 1986 (excluding those going into apprenticeships) in December 1987 was as follows: 40 % were unemployed, 30 % in "measures for youth" ("TUC", "SIVP", integration or qualification programmes), and a mere 25 % were employed. In December 1989, three and a half years after leaving school, half of them (55.5 % of level VI school-leavers and 48.7 % of level V_2 school-leavers) were in some way excluded from employment (unemployment, inactivity, repeated youth measures, etc.), 20 % had precarious jobs (temping, limited contracts, etc.) and only 30 % seemed to have found stable employment[2] .

It would seem that more than 80 % of young people leaving school without a diploma and not going into an apprenticeship take part in "*measures for youth*"[3].
The development of unemployment rates among the under-25s shows the impact of these measures (cf. following pages).

---

1 The preceding information is taken from: *Données sociales 1993*, INSEE, Paris 1993.

2 C. DUBAR and F. POTTIER, "Insertion professionnelle, construction identitaire et réseaux familiaux des jeunes de bas niveau scolaire", Network colloquium, photocopy, 1991.

3 L. CHEVALIER and S. ZILBERMAN, in *Formation Emploi*, no. 23, July-September 1988.

School-leavers between 1980 and 1990[1] according to level

Level[2]	Numbers in thousands					Percentages				
	1980	1985	1988	1989	1990	1980	1985	1988	1989	1990
VI	60.1	52.3	34.2	32.5	27.0	7.2	6.6	4.5	4.3	3.5
V_2	71.7	69.7	68.4	63.5	65.4	8.6	8.6	9.0	8.3	8.5
V	395.0	359.7	311.5	294.5	274.0	47.5	45.2	41.1	38.6	35.5
IV secondary	86.9	69.8	64.0	65.5	69.2	10.4	8.8	8.5	8.6	9.0
Total secondary	**613.7**	**551.5**	**478.1**	**456.0**	**435.6**	**73.7**	**69.2**	**63.1**	**59.8**	**56.5**
IV higher education	57.8	71.4	80.9	86.7	94.9	7.0	9.0	10.7	11.4	12.3
III	81.0	76.9	92.2	101.9	112.4	9.7	9.7	12.2	13.3	14.6
I and II	79.7	96.6	106.5	118.4	127.5	9.6	12.1	14.0	15.5	16.6
Total higher education	**218.5**	**244.9**	**279.6**	**307.0**	**334.8**	**26.3**	**30.8**	**36.9**	**40.2**	**43.5**
Total	**832.2**	**796.4**	**757.7**	**763.0**	**770.4**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

1. Apprenticeships included, special education taken into account, agricultural apprenticeships added.
2. French scale.
Source: Ministry of Education and Culture - Department of evaluation and planning (DEP)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Long-term and recurring unemployment among young people entering working life[1] in the mid-1980s

in %

Education level[2]	Diploma or level of education achieved upon leaving the school system	Distribution[3]	Unemployed for more than 1 year[4]	Distribution of the unemployed[5]
VI	Drop-outs during junior secondary course (6th, 5th, 4th, "CPPN"[6], "SES", etc.)	7.1	47	13.4
V_2	Drop-outs during short technical courses prior to final year	8.3	40	13.2
V	- "CAP" final year without diploma	6.6	34	9.0
	- "BEP" final year without diploma	3.9	25	3.9
	- Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle ("CAP")	14.0	26	14.6
	- Brevet d'études professionnelles ("BEP")	22.0	22	19.4
	- School-leavers after 2nd or 1st (long courses)	5.2	18	3.7
IV	- Final "lycée" year without "baccalauréat"	7.2	28	8.1
	- "Baccalauréat"	7.9	22	7.0
	- "Baccalauréat" (plus one or two years of higher education without a higher diploma)	10.3	13	5.3
III	"DUT" or "BTS"[6]	7.5	8	2.4
Total		100.0	25	100.0
Numbers		381,000		95,250

1. Sample: a group of young people who left a government school in the mid-1980s (including STS and IUT) and were interviewed three years later
2. French scale
3. Young people corresponding to the above sample who entered working life within three years of leaving school.
4. Percentage of young people who were unemployed for more than one year during the 33 months (2 years 9 months) after leaving school.
5. Distribution of young people who were unemployed for more than one year during the 33 months after leaving school, according to diploma or education level
6. BTS: Brevet de technicien supérieur [Advanced technician's certificate]
   CPPN: Class pré-professionnelle de niveau [Pre-vocational class]
   DUT: Diplôme universitaire de technologie (2 years after the "baccalauréat") [University certificate in technology]
   SES: Section d'éducation spécialisée [Specialized education section]

Source: Cereq - Observatoire des entrées dans la vie active (Eva)

Unemployment rates[1] according to sex and age at the 1962, 1968, 1975, 1982 and 1990 censuses

in %

Age	Men					Women				
	1962	1968	1975	1982	1990	1962	1968	1975	1982	1990
15-19	1.5	3.6	8.6	23.4	17.0	2.4	5.0	17.5	45.0	29.9
20-24	1.0	2.8	4.9	13.8	15.4	2.0	4.1	8.9	23.3	26.0
25-29	0.8	1.6	2.6	6.5	9.6	1.6	3.0	5.6	12.0	17.9
30-34	0.6	1.2	1.9	4.6	7.2	1.4	2.5	4.7	8.8	14.6
35-39	0.6	1.3	1.7	3.8	6.1	1.3	2.3	3.9	7.1	12.3
40-44	0.7	1.3	1.8	4.0	5.6	1.2	2.2	3.6	6.3	10.5
45-49	0.8	1.3	1.8	3.9	5.9	1.3	2.0	3.3	6.1	9.6
50-54	0.8	1.6	1.7	4.3	6.8	1.2	2.2	3.0	6.6	10.7
55-59	1.0	1.7	2.3	6.4	10.7	1.3	2.1	3.8	8.5	13.1
60-64	1.3	2.2	3.6	7.0	7.5	1.3	2.1	4.4	7.4	10.8
65-70	0.7	1.0	1.9	2.0	3.4	0.7	1.1	2.4	2.3	6.2
over 70	0.3	0.4	0.8	1.4	2.3	0.4	0.5	0.9	1.5	3.2
Total	**0.9**	**1.8**	**2.7**	**6.6**	**8.3**	**1.5**	**2.8**	**5.6**	**11.7**	**14.7**

1. Proportion of unemployed to working population.
Source: Insee, 1/20 survey held at each census.

1.2. AN OVERVIEW OF SOCIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SOCIAL AND VOCATIONAL INTEGRATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN FRANCE

Looking beyond the broad statistical information available on the situation of young people in French society, we should at this point examine how the issue of socialization and of social and vocational integration is dealt with in France today. The best way to approach this question is with a brief overview of the sociological debate on this topic.

In France, initial training in general or technical streams has long been viewed through the prism of the educational system and the tasks assigned to it. For a long time, school in the broad sense of the term was considered one of the most powerful guarantors of social justice, because it offered the same basic education to all, and this was meant to give each individual a chance of finding employment and achieving a situation corresponding to his/her merit and ambitions.

In actual fact, education as an institution ensured - and it still does to a large extent - the reproduction of social status and of original social positions rather than providing an opportunity to rise above them. Pierre Bourdieu's work on the mechanisms of social reproduction for both lower and higher social classes or categories is widely known today[1] . The resources with which individuals or groups confront the educational system can be analyzed in terms of capital or of economic, social and cultural "inheritance", but also in terms of cultural "habits". Expectations vis-à-vis the educational system and the strategies developed in order to take advantage of it thus differ widely, as are the promises which it is to fulfil.

It can therefore be stated as a reasonable hypothesis that guidance services are sought or exploited only to the extent that they are seen as an important

---

1 P. BOURDIEU and J-C. PASSERON, *Les héritiers*, Ed. de Minuit, Paris, 1964, and P. BOURDIEU and J-C. PASSERON, *La reproduction. Eléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement*, Ed. de Minuit, Paris, 1970.

element of a training strategy, or as a factor facilitating access to a diploma, this also being a socially marked strategy. For parents, the idea of guidance as an instrument for the optimization of an educational and vocational career makes sense only inasmuch as school and training are effectively viewed as routes with multiple possibilities leading to a variety of jobs or sectors among which a choice can be made. This is, however, not always the case. For a long time, the educational system itself contributed to the fantasy of an ideal educational career where sciences represented the standard of excellence and other streams were no more than second-best, following a subtle hierarchy to which the upwards-striving middle classes were undoubtedly most responsive.

Expected profession in ten years in terms of social origin (men, n = 1203)*

Social origin	Farmer	Crafts-man, shop-keeper	Manage-ment	Inter-mediate profes-sion	Em-ployee	Skilled worker	Un-skilled worker	
Farmer	46.7 (25.2)	5.3 (6.6)	9.3 (14.3)	11.8 (8.1)	4.1 (28.5)	19.9 (12.3)	2.8	100
Craftsman, shopkeeper	0 (0.6)	28.1 (18.5)	25.8 (13.5)	22.7 (21.7)	8.6 (10.6)	11.7 (27.3)	3.1 (7.8)	100
Management	1.5 (0.6)	4.6 (5.4)	53.8 (39.2)	26.2 (32.6)	6.2 (12.6)	6.2 (6.7)	1.5 (2.9)	100
Intermediate profession	4.6 (0.2)	6.9 (7.5)	26.9 (18.4)	37.7 (34.3)	3.8 (15.8)	18.5 (18.1)	1.5 (5.6)	100
Employee	1.7 (0.5)	10.3 (4.3)	19.0 (11.5)	30.2 (25.9)	12.1 (23.3)	24.1 (24.5)	2.6 (9.9)	100
Skilled worker	2.8 (0.8)	18.5 (5.4)	13.3 (5.2)	24.1 (18.9)	6.8 (12.9)	28.9 (43.9)	5.6 (12.9)	100
Unskilled worker	6.8 (4.2)	12.2 (7.6)	3.4 (10.8)	12.2 (21.8)	7.5 (13.0)	41.5 (31.0)	16.3 (11.6)	100

* How to read the chart: the left-hand column represents social origin, the right-hand column the expected profession. 46.7 % of farmers' sons expect to be farmers themselves in 10 years' time. As a reference, the figure in brackets is the percentage of sons of the same social origin aged 25-39 in 1985 who were farmers according to the 1985 "FQP" survey carried out by INSEE.

On the whole, it can be stated that literary streams were less highly valued than sciences, and that heading for technical or vocational fields was more often the result of a failure than a long-term intention. This situation has changed somewhat nowadays, but the feeling that there are "devalued" streams remains, particularly when they indeed do not ensure access to either higher education or employment.

Approaching this issue from a slightly different perspective, some sociologists have analyzed the social habits and identities which develop in the daily confrontation between - no longer youth in general or categories of young people - individual young people (those with low levels of qualification or poor job prospects) and institutions or other traditional agents of socialization. Thus, for instance, some sociologists have worked with young people growing up in working-class satellite towns, studying the possibilities other than lawlessness or violence available to help them function as full-fledged social participants and attempt to influence their own futures[2] . The social exclusion experienced by these young people because of their spatial "relegation"[3] , their exclusion from educational streams leading to academic success, the precariousness of their jobs, and in some cases the stigma attached to their ethnic origins translate into a "rage" (to repeat the term used by François Dubet) which is often both destructive and self-destructive. The resentment they harbour towards the institutions they consider responsible for this exclusion is great, and although they may have "re-conquest" strategies, these always include a great deal of distrust in the efficacy of institutional instruments. But this "rage" also often involves an affirmation and a confused claim to a right which mingles themes of living conditions, possibilities of expression, employment, housing, social recognition, education, etc.

The integration of these young people, according to both their protests and the diagnosis made of their situation by the forces of social engineering, thus does not depend solely on vocational integration: it is, rather, a multi-dimensional social integration.

---

2 F. DUBET, *La galère, jeunes en survie*, Ed. Fayard, Paris, 1987.

3 What is meant here is social exclusion in housing as experienced by those living in underprivileged suburban districts; unemployment affects these districts to an even higher extent. cf. J-M. DELARUE, *Banlieues en difficultés: La relégation, Rapport au Ministre d'Etat, Ministre de la Ville et de l'Aménagement du Territoire*, Ed. Syros, Paris, 1991.

From this point of view, it should be noted that educational and vocational guidance for young people has new challenges to face if it intends to fulfil its objectives and if the dynamic forces it seeks to release are to be perpetuated.

In such a scenario, guidance takes on a different nature: educational and vocational guidance suddenly becomes a tool towards broader social integration while this integration becomes more and more essential to guidance.

On this topic, we should note here that the socialization process of youth has changed. This applies to young people in general and, even more so, to what some sociologists have called "the other youth"[4] , young people leaving school without a diploma.

In addition to its educational and/or training task, school used to have a socializing role vis-à-vis adolescents and young adults. This was a role it shared with the family, where the adolescent or youth (the choice of term is immaterial) found the necessary references for his/her socialization (in a conflictive or non-conflictive manner). Employment, or more precisely, integration into the division of labour (to use Durkheim's term), rounded off this socialization.

This model is now undermined from two directions:

• on the one hand, because the growing precariousness of family situations (unemployment for householders, single-parent families, poverty, etc.) disrupts the development of the references values essential to this socialization, because school, as an institution, is also finding it increasingly difficult to fulfil its socializing function, and because the integration model provided by stable and task-structured employment is slowly disappearing (or has already completely disappeared);

• on the other hand, because the concept of socialization as a finite process (as an "achievement") is becoming outdated: more and more, socialization is becoming the result of an ongoing interaction (which can include stages, or pri-

---

4 C. DUBAR, *L'autre jeunesse, jeunes stagiaires sans diplôme*, Lille, Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1987.

mary or secondary levels[5]) for which the peer group (brothers and sisters, friends, etc.) is at least as significant as other traditionally standard-setting socializing agents.

Another observation can be linked to this analysis: the fact that a growing proportion of the young people who have chosen or were oriented towards "devalued" streams experience a moratory period, spanning several years in some cases, before developing a satisfactory balance between their ambitions and a credible vocational objective. For these young people, who are also affected by the "post-adolescence" phenomenon, youth becomes a phase of social ambiguousness during which they must develop a stand which is no longer pre-set by the mechanisms of automatic educational equivalence which had been active until then[6] . The diploma thus loses validity as an indicator to predict social position, both for families and guidance experts. In actual fact, the moment when commitments must be taken regarding work, partnership, family life or the future is pushed back to "later"[7] .

Guidance counselling on educational or vocational issues must therefore face multiple stakes, not the least of which is the social integration of young people inasmuch as this social integration nowadays appears to be an ongoing process of socialization characterized by late commitments but where vocational integration has no meaning without its dynamic force.

---

5 cf. P. GARNIER, "Critique des théories de la socialisation", in IDEF, *Du stade au quartier - Le rôle du sport dans l'intégration sociale des jeunes*, Ed. Syros, Paris, 1993, or, for a more global approach, P. BERGER and T. LUCKMAN, *La construction sociale de la réalité*, Méridiens-Klincksieck, Paris, 1986 for the French version.

6 O. GALLAND, "Un nouvel âge de la vie", in *Revue Française de Sociologie*, Paris, 1990, vol. XXXXI.

7 Idem.

2. INSTRUMENTS FOR CONTACT, INFORMATION AND COUNSELLING IN EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

As we have already pointed out in the introduction, France has a complex system of information and counselling in educational and vocational guidance. There are programmes run by the Ministry of Education, aimed for the most part at young people still in initial training, and programmes focusing on the vocational integration of young people and aimed primarily at young job seekers; the latter are organized by the "Délégation Interministérielle à l'Insertion des Jeunes" (D.I.J.), in some cases with the assistance of other institutions.

This distinction and the nature of the target groups we have chosen justify a presentation under two sub-headings:

- guidance for young people in initial training
- structures for contacting, informing and counselling young job seekers.

2.1. GUIDANCE DURING INITIAL TRAINING

Guidance within the school environment is two-pronged:

- counselling activity done by the guidance counsellors (psychologists) of the "Centres d'Information et d'Orientation" (CIO);
- the orientation decision, handed down by the "class council".

We will now examine these two aspects of guidance in order to elucidate their mechanisms.

2.1.1. The CIOs

The objectives formally entrusted to the CIOs are "participation or assistance in the ongoing observation of pupils, in their adjustment and their information" (Law on Guidance in Education of 10 July 1989).
In more precise terms, information and guidance services have the following tasks: "contact, observation, assistance in adjustment processes and follow-up observation of young people"[1].
They are also in charge of counselling and informing young people and their families. They can also carry out evaluations of academic level for individual applicants.
The CIOs are open to the public: they offer a general information service which also distributes ONISEP[2] brochures. Some CIOs have open-access self-evaluation software. CIO services are available to the general public, young people or adults looking for jobs.
The CIOs are also "home base" for guidance counsellors when they are not in schools.
CIOs are - in physical terms - not part of schools and they are not administered by the school system. However, like schools, they are the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, and as such they are financed by the state.

---

1 LEGRAND and SOLAUX, *Education permanente*, no. 109-110

2 Office National d'Information Scolaire et Professionnelle, a government organization which publishes guidance brochures and is run by the Ministry of Education .

Their sphere of activity covers educational guidance and vocational guidance for job seekers.
There are 580 CIOs in France, and some 4200 guidance counsellors[1].

2.1.2. The guidance counsellors

These guidance specialists undergo two years of course-based training followed by a one-year work-based training period.

Their theoretical training has three major components:

- knowledge of institutions;
- psychology;
- economics and knowledge of professions and trades.

The level of qualification required to enter this training is a "licence", or the equivalent of the "Bac + 3" ("baccalauréat" certificate plus three years). Most counsellors have a "licence" in psychology; psychology thus dominates their range of competence, which is why they are sometimes called "Conseillers d'Orientation Psychologes".

Guidance is viewed as an "*evolutionary and dynamic process, which is a part of ongoing education*"[2].

The work of guidance counsellors consists of 4 major areas:

- observing pupils;
- helping them to adjust;
- informing them;
- guiding them.

The instruments used for these different tasks are primarily tests: personality tests and/or aptitude tests.

---

1 Daniel JAECKLE, in *Structure des emplois et des qualifications dans les services d'orientation professionnelle des jeunes et des adultes, la situation en France*, CEDEFOP document, December 1991.

2 in LEGRAND and SOLAUX, op. cit.

Until the 1970s, guidance and the tests which were occasionally carried out were exclusively group activities, such as the collective assessment tests administered to entire 6th year groups.

The introduction of streams in secondary education (the Haby reform of 1975) meant that pupils could now follow different paths, more or less complex routes depending on the options available. Since this reform, individual counselling has taken on an increasingly significant role. Part of guidance counsellors' work now is helping pupils develop a personal and vocational project of their own.

The concept of "project" in guidance, be it personal, vocational or educational, was institutionalized in the Law on Guidance in Education of 10 July 1989. A pupil's project now forms the central element of guidance. It is the end product of an "ongoing process of education through selection", a process which is supported by the guidance counsellor.

Application:

Guidance counsellors are active in secondary schools and in institutions of higher learning.

The great number of streams available in secondary schools has long meant that guidance needs were not covered homogeneously. General education has always had a higher value in social and cultural terms than the technical or vocational streams[1] .

Nowadays counsellors are increasingly active in vocational education. The "CAP", the "BEP" and the vocational "baccalauréat" are training levels which constitute a kind of "guidance plateau". In situations where pupils pass from one stream to another, particularly from the "BEP" to a 1st year in general education, guidance becomes a decisive element in the educational and vocational routes of young people in initial training, which gives a new significance to the issue of evaluation within the guidance activity itself.

In terms of levels of intervention, guidance counsellors are primarily active in classes which constitute "guidance plateaux": the 3rd year in junior secondary and especially the 2nd senior secondary year, after which streams split in order

---

[1] The appendix provides a chart of educational streams showing the distinction between general education of the first cycle and the second cycle in general, technical and vocational education. The recent reform of secondary schools (1993) has abolished the names that were used for the different types of "baccalauréat": instead of "bacs" A, B, C ... the system now differentiates between "literary", "economic" and "scientific" diplomas, etc., bringing some clarity to the complex set of names which was sometimes quite confusing to pupils' families.

to determine access to the various types of "baccalauréat" in general and technical education.

On the other hand, this reform gives pupils a greater variety of options. These options, selected in 2nd year, will determine the type of "bac" a pupil will sit for.
The significance of the selection of options for the subsequent years of schooling is therefore paramount; this explains the increased activity of guidance counsellors in these classes.
On the whole, their activity takes two forms:

- group information sessions conducted for entire classes, at least once a year. This information covers the possibilities offered by the different available streams. At these sessions, guidance counsellors often hand out "ONISEP" brochures.[1]
- individual interviews requested by the pupil and/or his family, or by a teacher who sees difficulties or special expectations in a particular pupil.

In the second case, counsellors occasionally carry out evaluations. Thus, for instance, a mathematics teacher who notices that a pupil has particular problems in maths can send the pupil to a guidance counsellor to make sure that he/she understands formal operations. In one of the cases we reviewed, the counsellor ran a number of tests on a pupil to verify his acquisition of various stages of reasoning logic. A report is then made to the pupil and to the teacher who had requested the evaluation.

The guidance counsellor is given an office in the various schools where he works so that he can carry out individual interviews. This office is usually located near the documentation centre[2]. The counsellor has office hours which vary from one counsellor to another, but each counsellor must be in the school at least once a week.
Pupils come to the counsellor during office hours, with or without their parents. The counsellor then gives individual guidance in the form of an in-depth inter-

---

1 cf. Appendix: Stipulations established within the framework of the five-year law on rebalancing orientation flows.

2 The documentation centre, sometimes referred to as the documentation and information centre, is the name given to school libraries that offer pupils free access to brochures and other documents on educational and training streams available, on diplomas and on professions. Normally these documents are material published by ONISEP.

view with the pupil: topics dealt with are the pupil's project - or lack of project - his school results, problems associated with his family and socio-economic environment.
On the basis of these various elements, the counsellor can then help the pupil develop his own personal and vocational project.

It must also be said that the assistance provided by the counsellor can also be of a psychological nature. For instance, one counsellor reports having seen a pupil on the girl's own request; she was experiencing personal difficulties in the family environment and felt the need to talk about them. In this listener role, the guidance counsellor then fully justifies his/her qualification as a psychologist.

2.1.3. The class council

Because the orientation decision is taken by this group, it plays a significant role in the guidance of pupils.
The class council is a formal meeting of the educational team, the school administration and perhaps also the pupil, depending on the school. Pupils do not participate personally: they are represented by one or two "class delegates", pupils who are elected by their fellow class-members for one year to represent the class. Representatives of the parents also sit on this "board" (one or two here as well), persons who are often members of the parents' associations.
The guidance counsellor also attends these meetings but not on a systematic basis, as it is also his task, at the same time, to conduct office hours for the pupils. One counsellor we questioned on this topic said he attended "when his timetable allowed". When this was not possible, he said, he gave his opinion to the classroom teacher prior to the meeting (this does not seem to be a generalized practice yet, however).
The class council meets once per trimester or, in exceptional cases, twice a year - in larger schools with high pupil numbers (in view of the organizational problems meetings might involve in these cases).
The aim of the class council is to review the school results of each pupil. Each teacher gives an assessment for his/her subject.

The class council meeting leads to the preparation of a report card on a trimester basis or half-yearly, listing a pupil's achievements and including short comments by each teacher. The class council also takes into consideration wishes expressed by a pupil or his/her family.
The orientation decision is taken at the end-of-year class council. This is where a pupil's promotion to the next class is decided upon. At levels which constitute a guidance plateau, such as the 3rd junior secondary year, it might be suggested that a pupil should repeat the year or change streams. The last trimester's report card includes an orientation proposal, which is most often an actual decision.
It is important to point out that although parents are required to follow the decision set out in this report card (in state schools), they can "appeal" the orientation decision taken by the class council. In this case, the pupil's file goes to the school's appeals commission, which then re-examines the pupil's project in the light of his/her capacities. This commission includes the school director, some of the teachers and the guidance counsellor.
A negative decision regarding the desired orientation often leads parents who would like their child to continue in a stream which is denied to him/her (usually the general stream) register the child in a private school, as these are more flexible in these matters and seen (justifiably or not) as being stricter than state schools.

2.1.4. The classroom teacher

Although teachers in the French school tradition do not formally act as guidance counsellors, the close contact they have with pupils during a school year does in fact lead to a certain amount of dialogue, information and counselling on the guidance choices open to them.
An even more specific role in this area is played by the classroom teacher.
At the beginning of each school year, each class is given a classroom teacher, who then becomes a kind of reference for the pupils. Pupils can discuss with this teacher problems they might have with other teachers, and teachers go to him/her if they, in turn, have difficulties with a particular pupil.

The classroom teacher is thus the interface between pupils and teachers, as well as between pupils and teachers, on the one hand, and any outsider to the educational team who is involved with the pupils, on the other. This is the case with the guidance counsellors, for instance.
The classroom teacher's role is interesting, as one of his functions is guidance for the pupils in his class. His salary includes a bonus to cover this additional function.
However, this guidance function is never formalized, and there are great variations in how it is handled by different teachers. According to the pupils interviewed, it sometimes takes the shape of an informal discussion, or it can be a one-hour guidance session included in the regular timetable. Between these two extremes, all variations are possible and each teacher is free to decide in this regard.
It would be wrong to ignore the significance of the classroom teacher in pupils' guidance, as the pupils themselves constantly refer to it. We will be mentioning this issue again at a later point.

2.1.5. Other information and guidance sources

Among these are the ONISEP brochures, which can be consulted at the CIO or distributed directly in classrooms.
Those living in the Paris area can also visit the C.I.D.J. ("Centre d'Information et de Documentation pour la Jeunesse"). This is a general information centre associated to the Ministry of Youth and Sport, where files on various trades and professions and direct-access training to these professions can be consulted. The C.I.D.J. also offers information and individual counselling without prior appointment. The information function is dealt with by specialized personnel, and counselling is done by guidance counsellors from the Ministry of Education. An average of 2000 persons visit the C.I.D.J. each day, and 70 % of the requests for information are about training, education or employment. The C.I.D.J. is also affiliated to a network of 31 information centres for young people (in the various regions of France as well as in overseas territories and

departments); these are independent centres with less financial means for which the C.I.D.J. serves as a resource centre.

Under this heading it would also be appropriate to mention the "Salons de l'Etudiant" operating in Paris and in a few major university towns, the mobile information centres on professions and training operated by the various army divisions and even the Rotary Club information meetings, which are by definition limited in their accessibility.

2.1.6. Function and dysfunction of guidance for young people in initial training

Without taking into account needs and social demands in terms of guidance counselling, we can at this point describe a number of problems and elements of dysfunction in the area of guidance within initial training. These are problems that are brought up, even strongly criticized, by the guidance counsellors themselves.

The causes of dysfunction mentioned by the "conseillers d'orientation psychologues" are on two levels:

- a first set of causes linked to factors external to the educational system and leading to pupils not having a "project";
- a second set of causes, linked this time to guidance itself, which can be summarized as the disjunction between:
    - the counselling activity as the counsellors would like to exercise it and
    - the orientation decision taken in the class council (the result of an evaluation which is more summational than formative).

The absence of a personal or vocational project can be explained in part by the current economic crisis, even though this may seem to be a rather commonplace claim. It is evident that some young people refuse to formulate projects, particularly those young people for whom the future seems most uncertain, the ones who are most socially disadvantaged and least qualified. For them, the lack of vocational openings makes unemployment a much more direct threat. As a result, they inhibit any form of projection.

Another explanation for the refusal to form projects might be found in adolescence itself, a period during which a young person's focus of interest can fluctuate, and in the fact that a projection into the future is automatically a projection into adult life, which is not easy. According to guidance counsellors, projects are extremely unstable, "*almost always out of line with reality*". This is what one guidance counsellor means when she says of her pupils that "*they function according to the principle of pleasure, of dream*".

This would explain why the decision of the class council, when it does not match a pupil's expectations, is experienced as a sanction.

As far as guidance counselling per se is concerned, all the counsellors interviewed agree that it occurs too late in a pupil's educational career. Indeed, the issue does not really come up until 3rd year, which is the first guidance plateau of a pupil's educational career, a point which all counsellors see as negative. In their opinion, by this time pupils and their families have neither enough time left nor the information necessary to construct a viable vocational project.
This is a far cry from the concept of "*ongoing process of education through selection*" advocated by guidance counsellors. It is hardly possible to place the pupil at the centre of his/her own guidance and make him a full-fledged participant in this process. This is perhaps one of the reasons behind the following comment by a guidance counsellor about pupils: "the projects they produce are nothing other than strong stereotypes".
Later, when we analyze the demands of young people in terms of guidance, we will see how these statements should be qualified.

Everything goes on as if guidance took place with participants having their backs to the wall, when a guidance plateau is reached. This is where guidance as a counselling activity - what counsellors mean when they refer to the "evolutionary and dynamic process" they seek - goes out of line with guidance in the sense of an allocation decided upon by the class council. It is the latter which prevails.

Guidance for school pupils remains essentially - even totally - determined by school results. Pupils' and their families' wishes are mostly formal in nature. On this topic, we can quote the analytical model proposed by Claude Dubar[1] , which opposes:

- the official model, where guidance is based on the preferences of a pupil and his family, and on dialogue with the educational team;
- the real orientation process, consisting of institutional mechanisms young people are the victim of it if they cannot understand their operation.

It is important to state at this point that guidance is not the same process for "good" pupils and "bad" pupils. For those with good results, the project is lim-

---

1 C. DUBAR, *L'autre jeunesse, jeunes stagiaires sans diplôme*, Presses universitaires de Lille, 1988.

ited to the diploma: to have one's "bac". These pupils' project is essentially an "educational project"[1] . The project evolves on the basis of a pupil's academic resources postponing commitment to a vocational project. For "good" pupils, the distance between school and employment is still long. It is much less so for pupils in technical and vocational secondary schools.

On the whole, what is happening is an "imposition of guidance"[2] , without the pupil's involvement and on the basis of his/her school results, in a context where demand for guidance counselling is limited by the low degree of future projection.
Faced with this situation, where guidance occurs on the basis of failures, guidance counsellors express a certain degree of bitterness and sometimes feel useless: "*if we were not there, orientation would take place just the same*", says one of them.
The pupils we spoke to, even though their perception of it is not always clear, also seem dissatisfied with this situation. We will come back to this point in a later chapter.

---

1 F. DUBET, *Les lycéens*, points Seuil, 1991.
2 C. DUBAR, op. cit.

2.2. STRUCTURES TO CONTACT, INFORM AND COUNSEL YOUNG JOB SEEKERS

It is impossible nowadays to deal with the issue of contacting, informing and guiding young people without mentioning the CFI programme ("Crédit Formation Individualisé"), which was established in 1989, and the PAQUE ("Préparation Active à la QUalification et à l'Emploi") programme, set up in June 1992.

The CFI allows young job seekers who have left initial training without a level V diploma to start on an individualized training route towards an acknowledged level of vocational qualification corresponding to "CAP" or "BEP"[1] in order to facilitate lasting vocational integration.
The CFI is not a new type of staged programme involving practical training periods added to other such programmes already in existence (e.g. the "preparation to employment" training periods we will discuss later); it is designed to be an instrument which can combine the different measures available (employment contracts with training periods, alternate training activities) to constitute training routes adapted to the specific profiles of individual young people.
The PAQUE programme is a training programme beyond the CFI; its target group consists of those young people experiencing the most severe difficulties and where multiple handicaps make access to employment more difficult. These problems could include insufficient training, particularly insufficient basic knowledge (reading, writing, logical reasoning), socialization problems and especially the absence or deficient development of a vocational project.[2]
The individualized training routes of the CFI system and guidance within the PAQUE programme are based on three functions: contact and information,

---

1 Titles, diplomas and level V classification requiring validation and aimed at in CFI programmes: the Ministry of Education's "CAP" and "BEP" diplomas and the Ministry of Agriculture's "CAPA" and "BEPA"; The Ministry of Labour and Employment's "CFP" (vocational training certificate); certain diplomas issued by health and social authorities or the Ministry of Youth and Sport; professional titles in certain vocational areas which can be recognized or which lead to a classification determined through collective agreement.

2 The PAQUE programme was run between 1992 and 1994. It will not be renewed, but replaced in part by long-term project mobilization activities within the CFI programme.

guidance and follow-up, and a stock-taking function, all within a territorially-defined framework (the training zone).

1-Contact and information, guidance and follow-up, stock-taking

These three functions are fulfilled respectively by:

- structures to contact young people ("Permanences d'Accueil, d'Information et d'Orientation" - PAIO; the "Missions Locales" and the "Centres d'Information et d'Orientation" - CIOs - run by the Ministry of Education), structured through one pilot contact structure for each training zone and acting in tandem with ANPE ("Agence Nationale Pour l'Emploi") and its local offices through the "carrefours jeunes" (meeting places for young people).
  These structures inform young people about the various measures and possibilities regarding employment and integration, particularly those available within the CFI programme; if necessary, the young person is referred to a "correspondent" who is then put in charge of his/her follow-up in the programme.
- the "correspondents" working in the various contact structures - and in a broader sense in the different institutions aimed at young people "in difficulty" - in the training zone, whose task is to inform and orient the young person within the programme, to determine, together with him/her, a trajectory or, if necessary, to suggest stock-taking prior to establishing this trajectory, to accompany him/her during this trajectory in order to make any necessary adjustments to the implementation of the objectives established together.
- the stock-taking structures, chosen among existing stock-taking services in the training zone (AFPA, CIO, CIBC)[1] and whose task is to carry out stock-taking upon referral from a "correspondent" or training personnel (in the case of the PAQUE programme). This

[1] AFPA: Association for Adult Vocational Training, a training organization operated by the Ministry of Labour and Employment.
CIO: Information and Guidance Centres operated by the Ministry of Education.
CIBC: Inter-Institutional Centre for Competence Evaluation. These centres link the various institutions providing evaluations. They are open to all those wishing to review their acquired knowledge and evaluate their skills, evolve or adjust a vocational or training project. The centres' services are paid for by the person or agency applying for the stock-taking or by the programmes through which the "client" was sent.

stock-taking serves to identify and put to use a young person's existing vocational knowledge and employment experience, or to verify or evaluate his skills so that he/she, together with the correspondent, can use the overall results in order to prepare a trajectory and choose the modalities of training. Stock-taking services, lasting an average of 16 hours within the CFI programme, may be used at various stages or levels of a young person's route.

2-Territorialization

The CFI programme has been set up as a regional programme providing services to young people near where they live and adjusted to local employment possibilities. Furthermore, this territorial framework allows for concerted action on the part of the operators (organizations for contact, stock-taking, training; correspondents; validation services).

In order to coordinate actions carried out in this territorial framework, to prepare a diagnosis, define guidance activities and regulate the links between the participants, a local commission for employment and training ("Commission Locale de l'Emploi et de la Formation", CLEF) brings together the various participants in the programme, including the economic (representatives of the work environment) and social participants, under the chairmanship of the prefect of the department or his representative.

Finally, a zone coordinator is appointed by the regional prefect with the cooperation of the "Délégation Régionale de la Formation Professionnelle" and the employment services ("Direction Départementale du Travail de l'Emploi et la Formation Professionnelle") to ensure communication between the various participants, to make sure training funds are available to match societal demand and corporate needs, and to support government services[1] in their activity.

We will cover in turn the issues of the organization of the contact structures and more particularly the changes they have gone through as a result of the CFI programme, their role and the difficulties faced particularly by those involved in follow-up and guidance activities, stock-taking personnel, correspondents, the role of training programmes (PAQUE, modules for guidance and preparation of vocational projects).

---

1 The latest employment-training plan (five-year law of December 1993) will bring changes to this programme, for instance, by regionalizing vocational training (cf appendices).

2.2.1 Organizational evolution of contact structures for young job seekers[1]

The establishment of the CFI programme brought about a reshuffling of the relations between local contact and guidance structures, due particularly to the creation of a network controlled by one structure designated as a pilot structure. This evolution would seem particularly significant, as it has profoundly modified the modalities of the work of guidance specialists, particularly in bringing supply and demand into closer connection, even though there are still a number of problems which we will be discussing under the following point.

1-Prior to the CFI programme: lack of funds, diversity of management forms, practices and opinions

The structures working in city districts or in the employment basins are well known. Until 1982, integration of young people was sponsored primarily by ANPE, the National Employment Agency: primarily through "Granet" pre-training periods for young job seekers, then through national agreements on employment. After 1982, new groups became involved, but ANPE remained as an obligatory partner in the management of alternance contracts (qualification, adaptation, CES)[2] and it can help companies find candidates. The youth programme established in 1982 introduced two new structures: the "Missions Locales" and the PAIOs[3]. ANPE began directing young people without qualifications towards these structures, which then developed very rapidly.
The "Missions Locales" had a contact function: their task was to take stock of the overall problems of the young person, help plan a trajectory, follow it up, put into focus the various training possibilities, adapt the training potential. Here, in several aspects, are the functions and tasks which, after 1989, will be assigned to the CFI and more particularly to the zone coordinator.

---

1 Le partenariat dans les zones CFI - Elizabeth Auclair, François Durand, Didier Barbe / FORS Recherche Sociale, July 1992.

2 These various types of contracts are subsidized employment contracts (exemption from social contributions, training taken over by state authorities) often including a period of training for the benefit of job seekers.

3 "Permanence d'Accueil, d'Informations et d'Orientations" (Offices for Contact, Information and Guidance)

Another structure is the information, guidance and integration service of the Ministry of Education (CIO, DIJEN)[1] , which offers various measures for young people on or below level V and just out of the school system.

And finally, social workers (social assistants, specialized teachers, etc. with close contacts to the area and to the young people concerned) attempted, using their own network, to find solutions or serve as relays to the structures we have just listed.

Each structure had a certain concept of the individual, of his/her relation to society, and thus its own methodology and its own integration practices. Some favoured tapping social capital in order to integrate young people, others cultural capital, others technical capital. Others chose a global approach. Prior to the establishment of CFI, and according to the geographical, economical, social, cultural and historical characteristics of the regions which would subsequently become CFI zones, these structures were present to a lesser or larger extent, playing more or less important roles in activities focusing on contact and integration for young people.

Without wanting to oppose in an arbitrary and non-exhaustive manner a pre-CFI period to a post-CFI period, we could say that before the new programme was established activities aiming at contacting young people - i.e. the supply of information and counselling services - featured at least three characteristics, with the exception of zones where a "Mission Locale" had been established:

- they were poorly integrated (overlapping zones of activity, high variation in the level of equipment and competence, differing work methods) and thus relatively inefficient;
- this poor integration led to an approach to young people's problems which was rather individual and based on the economic situation of the moment. The objective was to "pigeonhole" the young person, "to find something for him as quickly as possible" among the programmes offered by training organizations;
- they were controlled by training organizations, a control which took several forms: direct recruitment of future participants in practical training periods, management of the contact structure (for instance,

---

1 CIO: "Centre d'Information et d'Orientation" (Information and Guidance Centre) operated by the Ministry of Education.
DIJEN: "Dispositif d'Insertion des Jeunes de l'Education Nationale" (Ministry of Education Programme for the Integration of Youth)

PAIOs managed by GRETAs), the proposal/imposition of a pre-set training offer.

2-The situation after the establishment of the CFI

It was in this context that the pilot contact structures were selected. This was a delicate operation at times. In areas where contact activities were dominated or structured by one main participant, the choice was obvious. And similarly, in areas where contact structures were poorly integrated, where there was no dominant structure, some of the local bodies, fully aware of what was involved, got together and proposed that they should become the pilot structure. In both of these cases, the state authorities made a selection which corresponded to the local distribution of forces, ratifying, endorsing a negotiated situation or a situation which suited the local conditions. But in areas where there was a relative balance of forces among the various bodies involved, with complementary relationships, cooperation habits, etc., the choice was more difficult. Either the state authorities negotiated among the various local bodies or let them find a pilot formula together, or the state arbitrarily selected one structure against the wishes of the others. Most arbitrary were situations where, for reasons all local participants were well aware of, the state chose a weaker structure over a stronger one. These modalities of selection played a significant role in the subsequent organizational work and in the efficiency of the partnership between contact structures.

This selection process has led to the emergence of three types of pilot structures in charge of organizing and running contact structures in the CFI zones:

- **partner-based pilot zones**, in which all local bodies (ANPE, CIO, CCAS[1] , etc.) have mobilized, organized and structured themselves in order to take over and develop the existing PAIO in a manner which often evolved into a true partnership of contact structures, a dynamic and often innovative form of cooperation.
- **Ministry of Education pilot zones**. This more or less active hegemony of the Ministry of Education is at times the result of a strategy aiming at controlling the source of trainee fluxes, and, more gener-

---

1 CCAS: "Centre Communal d'Action Sociale" (District Centre for Social Action)
ANPE: "Agence Nationale pour l'Emploi" (National Employment Agency)
CIO: "Centre d'Information et d'Orientation" (Ministry of Education Guidance and Information Centre)

ally, dominating the field of integration, but it is also the consequence of the absence of bodies with sufficient competence or means to take on the contact function.

- **zones piloted by "Missions Locales"**, thus a priori by the communities which sponsor them[1] . These communities are usually urban areas. A priori, because this involvement of communities can be extremely variable.
- A fourth type of zone should be added here: **double-pilot zones**, areas where there is an official pilot structure and a true pilot structure, the consequence of an arbitrary selection of the pilot structure and/or an inappropriate zone designation. This situation does not prevent contact structures from functioning, but very often these zones have had to develop their own special modus operandi.

3-Evolution

A comparison of the initial situation with the situation of contact structures at the end of 1992 shows a clear development and a strong trend towards a structuring of the contact networks. The establishment of these contact networks is a general and massive fact, even though the modalities, speed and level of structuration may vary from one zone to the next. Very rapidly, several zones organized regular meetings attended by representatives of most of the contact structures.

All zones, undoubtedly with greater effort in rural areas, have established a system of communication among the various contact structures. They have developed instruments, organized regular meetings, sometimes created instances to manage the contact function and follow-up activities for participants in practical training periods. Some zones have developed practices to manage the acceptance of young people to the CFI and PAQUE programmes more efficiently and fairly.

This structuration of the system of networks has had several consequences.

The progressive evolution of a common language, of homogeneous and dynamic practices, has brought more coherence and efficiency to the contact

---

1 "Missions Locales" are established by local communities and chaired by an elected head. They are associations or public interest groups. They bring together representatives of the communities, state services, the social and economic partners and associations.

function and contributed to the credibility and legitimacy of this function. This has had at least three effects:

- a gradual shift whereby young people who previously contacted training organizations directly increasingly approached these specialized structures instead, a trend which helped diminish the domination of the supply of training possibilities on societal demand;
- an increasing proximity to demand, the result of decentralized contact achieved by opening offices either in rural areas (in town halls) or in cities (district structures, resource centres). This decentralization has taken various forms, all of them aiming at improved communication and finer relay structures between the CFI programme and the local community;
- an improved understanding of the needs of young people and a better channelling of this demand towards the coordinator and the CLEFs, leading in turn to more relevant and swifter training responses;
- a significant increase in the numbers of young people contacted, a trend which will, however, force the contact structures to find additional competence, additional means, additional funds.

4-The contact function in facts and figures[1]

→ 232 "Missions Locales" and 450 PAIOs sponsored by various bodies (local communities, Ministry of Education, social action associations)

→ 720,000 young people contacted by the network of "Mission Locales" and PAIOs in 1992 (150,000 in 1982; 497,000 in 1990; 561,000 in 1991)

→ 92.5 % of those contacted are 18 years or older.

→ 15 % are long-term unemployed (more than one year of unemployment).

→ 25 % have no qualifications; 21 % have level V and 37 % have a level V diploma ("CAP", "BEP"), 16 % are at "baccalauréat" level.

→ Nearly 9 out of 10 young people come to the "Mission Locale" or to the PAIO looking for a job or a training possibility: of these nine, three want a job and six a training scheme.

---

1 Source: Dossier sur les Missions Locales no. 41 - in the October 93 issue of "Partenaires", journal of the Ministry of Labour and Employment and Vocational Training.

- → Two thirds of the young people involved get an initial response from the "Mission Locale" or the PAIO within a few weeks of their first interview. For the remaining third, the waiting period lasts an average of three to four months.
- → Seven out of ten young people find a solution. Among these, 6 % find a job under a common law contract or an alternance contract. The average time spent waiting for a job, including training periods, varies between 15 and 22 months depending on the nature of the contract.

2.2.2. Roles and problems of personnel in contact, follow-up and stock-taking structures

As mentioned earlier, the role of contact structures is to inform young people on local employment and training possibilities and, before that, guide them towards existing offers in terms of their personal profile. This orientation function is carried out by the "correspondents" working in the CFI and PAQUE programmes.

The young person is guided towards the PAQUE programme by means of an instrument measuring basic knowledge, which then helps the "correspondent" to formulate an opinion on the level of written and spoken skills of the young person, his/her ability to gather information and place himself in time and space, do simple calculations, logical reasoning.

Within the scope of the CFI, and under the assumption that the young person meets the requirements to enter a training route leading to a level V diploma, the "correspondent" can guide the young person towards a training activity corresponding to his/her level and to the state of elaboration of his/her project, matching this project if it is precise enough, and includes a training route. Particular attention must be given to the realism of the project in terms of local employment possibilities.

To this end, the "correspondent" can suggest a stock-taking of vocational and/or personal skills, which also gives him the opportunity to verify the young person's aptitudes and motivations. This same "stock-taking" service can be used within the PAQUE program if requested by trainers so as to confirm or invalidate a vocational project. In all these cases, "stock-taking" services cannot be used without the agreement of the young person him/herself.

The stock-taking activity is billed to the various providers of services on the basis of 16 hours per young person, and its results can be used separately right through the training process.

We should add that the overall cohesion of the young person's route is to a certain extent guaranteed by the presence of one "correspondent" for each young person. This person is in charge of following the young person throughout his trajectory, of taking stock of the situation at the various stages of this trajectory, assisting training personnel with difficulties encountered in the course of the training process and mainly acting as a sort of interface between the young person and the social bodies involved in solving the social and personal problems affecting him/her (problems of health, housing, family, etc.). This last point is particularly important in the PAQUE programme, given the characteristics of the target group (cf. section on the profiles of young job seekers) on the one hand, and on the other the diversity of situations experienced by the training organizations, some of which, for instance, have not always been able establish themselves in their environment or develop a network of social partners (educators, social workers, psychologists, etc.).

Beyond these principles of operation, however, we should also mention the main difficulties affecting the implementation of contact and guidance roles and functions as we have just described them.

Among these we will deal particularly with the problems surrounding the effective capacity of the "correspondents" to guide young people in a meaningful manner, the difficulties with respect to the use of "stock-taking" services and the difficulties connected to the expression of demand.

1-Guidance problems experienced by correspondents[1]

- This first point is connected to the information system, more precisely to the "data describing the offer of training possibilities which are distributed, or at least made accessible, to correspondents. It would seem that these data are often insufficient to allow real guidance, taking into account not only the young person's project but also his/her own characteristics, the initial training level and experience acquired, or his/her learning profile.

This lack of data is particularly obvious at the level of training possibilities within the scope of programmes other than CFI (programmes operated by the Regional Council or General Council)[2] · possibilities which can nevertheless be mobilized in order to plan training routes.

This is even more so the case for alternance measures (subsidized employment contracts, already mentioned) managed by employment services and/or negotiated individually by the various bodies in the programme without the procedures of the rest of this negotiation having always been clearly defined.

Consequently, the various measures, apart from alternance training (practical training periods set up specifically for CFI), tend to be used in a somewhat marginal manner in the planning phase of training routes. At times they can "close a gap" and manage the waiting period between two poorly coordinated measures, while at other times they make it possible to finalize a training route (qualification or apprenticeship contracts). In the latter case, however, this seems to be more often the consequence of favourable circumstances rather than the result of prior negotiation.

---

1 cf. "La modularisation de l'offre de formation dans le cadre du CFI" - PETRA - topic 8 - Catherine Froissart / FORS Recherche Sociale - 1992.

2 Regional Council and General Council: the regional and general councils finance or manage training programmes. General Councils, for instance, are in charge of managing training possibilities offered to target groups receiving the "Revenu Minimum d'Insertion" (minimum income for integration) while the Regional Councils, since the implementation of the decentralization law of 1983, have been in charge of organizing a regional programme of apprenticeships and ongoing vocational training.

- The second point deals with mastery of guidance and follow-up techniques. This is mostly connected to often insufficient mastery of techniques and instruments of interview and evaluation, and occasional lack of criteria and meaningful indicators to assess the modes and levels of integration of the target groups.

Difficulties might also involve the capacity of correspondents themselves to find their way in a complex training programme which requires, among other things, pedagogical skills, a sound knowledge of professions, and on a broader scale, an understanding of companies and of their modalities of employment and qualification management.

The fact is that most correspondents function according to a social rather than economic logic. Trained more in the social area than in pedagogy or production, their profile rarely fits the concept of "training engineering", which the preparation of a training plan somewhat presupposes. This raises the issue of "their professionalization", which undoubtedly presupposes a more precise determination of their role and an assessment of the technical specifications of their function.

2-Difficulties with respect to the use of stock-taking services

In terms of the correlation between follow-up and stock-taking services, the main problems seem to be:

- the difficulty of organizations or stock-taking services to provide always precise responses to correspondents' needs. Although this is partly because correspondents themselves find it difficult to prescribe stock-taking on the basis of precisely identified objectives, it is still true that the low diversification of competence among stock-taking services is an important factor.

  What is furthermore obvious is that stock-taking services are often quite similar to evaluation services - evaluations of training levels or levels of vocational skills - and do not to any great extent shed light on skills other than acquired vocational skills, saying little about motivation vis-à-vis identified vocational projects and learning profiles.

  In general, the stock-taking services themselves agree that the instruments, methods and procedures currently used are still for the

most part insufficient to correspond to CFI objectives and sometimes inadequate for the target groups involved. However, significant progress seems to have been made since 1989 (creation of the CFI programme): at least, several experiments and adjustments have been undertaken, as described in the CFI letter of March 1993[1].

- the difficulties involved in using stock-taking results, for a variety of reasons including, for instance, insufficient communication between the bodies concerned. Thus:
  - the results are not always understandable for the young person him/herself and for his/her correspondent or trainer;
  - the code of professional ethics according to which the results of the stock-taking belong to the young person being tested can limit the use made of them;
  - the frequent lack of correlation between the capacities assessed and the capacities required (prerequisite; frame of reference of employment and training) can perhaps lead to an under-utilization of the results of the stock-taking activity within guidance procedures and, at the very least, to the redundancy of evaluation procedures and of data gathered at different stages of the route. There is, for example, frequent confusion between "diagnosis", "initial evaluation", "stock-taking of skills" and "positioning" the trainee within a training frame of reference[2].

---

1 La lettre du CFI - Spécial "bilan de compétences" no. 10 - March 1994 - articles written by Ménard - FORS Recherche Sociale.

2 Stock-taking: this is a simple assessment of acquired knowledge and capacities. The stock-taking function is intended to produce data on what a person has accumulated in the course of his/her route (vocational training acquired, and on a broader basis, experience gathered) in order to develop a project.
Diagnosis: on the basis of the stock-taking, the diagnosis attempts to discover, by means of tests and suitable interviews, the social, vocational and formative aptitudes, to shed light on expectations, general needs and motivations for the realization of a project.
Initial evaluation: the initial evaluation attempts to measure the gap between the capacities to be acquired and the capacities already acquired with the objective of determining the means of reducing this gap.
Positioning: on the basis of the diagnosis and the initial evaluation, positioning means placing the trainee into a suitable training course.

- Another problem regards the flexibility of stock-taking services in relation to demand. This refers particularly to the frequent lack of a permanent offer of stock-taking services as well as to the general incapacity of services to handle groups under a certain size or in different locations. Such difficulties, and sometimes rather long waits for results, contribute to drops in numbers of young people waiting to enter a training scheme.

3-Difficulties connected to the expression of demand

One problem related to the expression of demand is the frequent incapacity of applicants to express their needs clearly and realistically. This is the reason for the stereotype nature of demand on the part of girls often mentioned by the correspondents or the lack of demand for low-image manual trades or for the inability of so many young people to imagine their future, due to a lack of even the slightest knowledge about what they can expect to become. Although it is indeed a part of the correspondents' role to support the expression of demand, what in fact happens is that this support often looks more like a kind of "manipulation" than assistance in formulating a project. This feeling is accentuated by the importance given to evaluation procedures and to a frequently controlled management of admissions to training programmes (pre-determined quotas according to stream and level) in a range of possibilities which often seem insufficient or inadequate to efficiently respond to the characteristics of the applicants, or even at times far removed from the reality of local employment possibilities.

Beyond the direct consequences these problems can have for the guidance of young people, we must also mention the effect they have on the actual supply of training possibilities: in their capacity as contact points for young job seekers, the "Missions Locales", PAIOs and CIOs also play a role in shaping the local supply of training programmes by passing on information on needs and demand, particularly within the scope of the CLEFs.

2.2.3. Training activities for the orientation of young job seekers[1]

This section will deal with actions or measures having as their objective the orientation of young people. We will cover orientation contracts, activities within the PAQUE programme and actions for the mobilization of a vocational project.

1-The orientation contract[2]

The objective of the orientation contract is to favour the vocational orientation of young people through a first experience under an alternance integration contract.
The orientation contract (which replaces programmes of initiation to vocational life) is a non-renewable employment contract lasting 3 to 6 months.
Valid for a minimum of 32 hours per month, the contract consists of:

- one or several modules of general pre-training or vocational training (linked to the activity involved) implemented by an in-company or external training organization;
- if required, a stock-taking of skills implemented by an external organization with the agreement of the young person concerned.

Trainees are paid between 30 and 65 % of the minimum indexed wage according to their age.
In addition to the problems of access to alternance contracts mentioned earlier, orientation contracts are often used too "instrumentally", so to speak. Although they give the young person access to remuneration and to a company, they are not always a relevant part of training routes.
In fact, although orientation contracts can seem relevant to the vocational project of the young person and serve to invalidate or confirm it, their efficacy often seems to be impaired by an insufficient correlation between what happens in the company and what happens in the training centre (correlation between

---

1 - *Evaluation du dispositif PAQUE*, C. Froissart / F. Darty - FORS Recherche Sociale, May 1993.
- cf. Glossaire CFI - Délégation à la Formation Professionnelle
- cf. *Apports des travaux d'études et d'évaluation réalisées sur le CFI de 1989 à 1992*, C. Froissart / FORS Recherche Sociale, December 1992

2 The orientation contract has been replaced by the integration contract within the framework of the five-year law of December 1993 (cf. appendices).

training objectives in the centres and in the companies as well as between training contents).
But it is the very role and efficacy of alternance that are questioned here.

2-Modules and practical training periods to promote the elaboration of a vocational project

Whereas the CFI's activities to encourage the formulation of a vocational project are relatively short (200 to 400 hours) and often insufficient to truly allow for the emergence and consolidation of a project, particularly when they simultaneously aim at closing a level gap, the PAQUE programme benefits from a longer duration (1800 hours including at least 600 in a company)[1] .
Within this framework, working on a vocational project is normally integrated into a progression where points being worked on simultaneously include social improvement, basic knowledge and learning about jobs and the company.
In spite of numerous difficulties in implementation, in-company practical training is managed as individually as possible (varying the duration, frequency and objectives of periods spent in the company) and are accompanied, to a lesser or greater extent depending on the training organizations concerned and the partnership they have been able to develop, by trial periods.
The quality of the programme depends on the capacity of training organizations to adapt to the level of each individual trainee and to offer a broad range of possibilities to work as much on the formulation of a realistic vocational project as on the level of employability of the trainees.

1 The replacement of the PAQUE programme by project mobilization modules may lead to mobilization routes lasting 1200 hours.

CO

The most frequent problems in this area generally involved:

a) the difficulty of training organizations to depart from traditional teaching schemes, particularly in general subjects, even if there has been a great deal of innovation in the area, in particular with the massive use of a project-based pedagogy onto which trainers attempt to graft the various learning processes.

b) the insufficient diversity or modularization of available training opportunities to allow for individualized training and integration routes, for want of true partnerships with the local training organizations and on a broader basis with the overall group of bodies and institutions working with young people.

c) the difficulty of constructing a network of companies ready to accept young people who are often experiencing great difficulties and seldom have the skills or minimum capacities to genuinely hold a job. On that account it is often difficult to go beyond the stage of discovery of the company and of the jobs into a phase of project validation.

We would add that more than the formation of a network of companies, what is being questioned here is the capacity of trainers and the means mobilized by training organizations to effectively handle in-company training while trying to respect both the logic of learning processes already begun and the interests of companies or their logic of action.
This is perhaps the one point which most severely undermines the efficacy of the guidance process.

This frequent lack of engineering and coordination between learning in the classroom and in-company training often places young people in a situation where they themselves must manage the succession of sequences although as we have already seen (cf. the profiles of young people entering the PAQUE programme), they are not always able to manage their integration route. More fundamentally, the acquisition of this capacity to manage one's own integration route rests, we feel, on the success of the training organization in tackling the issue of systems of values and norms and reference models. The fact is that

several training organizations active within the scope of the PAQUE programme have little or no experience with the target groups involved, or if they do they are often overwhelmed by the immense heterogeneity of these groups.

In fact, according to the training organizations and in terms of the partnerships which have evolved (partnership between organizations is highly recommended in the programme objectives), the logic involved here varies in terms of the perspective under which the guidance function is seen: at times it focuses on young people, their needs and expectations, at times on the expectations of companies and the realism of projects, at other times on the social and formative improvements which make up the very core of vocational integration.

3. PROFILES, NEEDS, EXPECTATIONS AND STRATEGIES OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN TERMS OF GUIDANCE

3.1. YOUNG PEOPLE IN INITIAL TRAINING (WITHIN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM)

These are pupils in technical and vocational education. Whereas the streams available within the scope of technical education do offer a restricted access to higher education possibilities such as "BTS" or "DUT" ("Bac" + 2 or + 3), vocational education streams lead to no more than a vocational "bac", which is intended as an extension and a supplementary qualification to the "BEP", but not as a form of access to higher education[1].

1 A recent survey has shown that among the 78 % of pupils succeeding at the vocational "baccalauréat" examinations, 93 % have a job after six months (as compared to 76 % in technical education), 30 % enter higher education but very few succeed. Source: CEREQ, *Bref*, 1990.

3.1.1. School experience

Whether they are in technical or in vocational education, the pupils we met were "guided" into these streams. The concept of guidance has a double meaning here, as we mentioned in the last chapter: although they may in fact have benefited from counselling or information, at a particular moment the guidance took the form of a decision taken by the general education institution they were attending.

In most cases, the school career of these young people is characterized by failure, either explicit or as a feeling developed along the way. In any case, what they have to say about their school career is strongly marked by this feeling of failure.

The reasons for the failures are often vague: "*things didn't turn out well in 3rd year*". At times, a specific reason may seem to emerge: "*because I wasn't good at French*".

The orientation into technical or vocational streams is often preceded by attempts to remain in the initial stream, an effort shown by the several cases of repeated years the pupils refer to.

Their change of stream is then the result of a failure in 3rd or 2nd year and takes place under often very limited choices.

Switches to a technical or a vocational stream are thus often explained in terms of failures. This leads to a negative image of their new stream: "*technical is lousy*", "*in junior high school I had a bad image of technical schools*".

Fear of failure is their main reason for refusing to continue their studies. They present this as a choice, although in any case the possibility would not have been open to them: "*I refused to do 2nd year because my friends flunked out of 2nd.*"

In fact, many of them seem to have fallen back onto the possibility still available to them, in anticipation of the class council's orientation decision.

On this point, our findings match the analysis of F. Dubet[1] when he proposes a hierarchy of streams of which young people are perfectly conscious and which they view as an academic classification. The feeling which dominates for them is, therefore, more the idea of selection than of guidance (even of a compelling nature).

---

1 F. DUBET, *Les lycéens*, points Seuil, 1991.

Beyond the feeling of failure or downgrading, young people are conscious of the issues at stake in initial training; at least, they have internalized them without necessarily making them the basis of their personal practices or strategies. The opinions expressed are impersonal: "*we want as much qualification as possible*", "*we should study as much as possible to have more possibilities*" (comments by vocational school pupils).

This feeling of failure or downgrading, however, varies enormously from one school or from one stream to another. Certain schools, who accept pupils who have been rejected from other institutions, reinforce this feeling, while others, which for instance have been able to develop "prestige" streams (training for new technologies, for example), attenuate it.
This is more often the case of technical schools than vocational ones, but pupils with a "BEP" or a "CAP" who manage a vocational "bac" usually lose this feeling of failure and even feel "saved" at times[1].
It seems to be the diploma or the level of qualification it represents rather than employment per se which contributes to the loss of the feeling of failure or of forced orientation[2].

3.1.2. Resources used for counselling or information

In fact, pupils in technical or vocational streams still have choices to make: what diploma to prepare for, what trade to choose, what optional subjects to concentrate on, etc.
When the two streams are examined under this aspect, comments made by pupils are on the whole rather negative. All are unanimous: "*there is no information*", "*we were poorly informed*". Indeed, there seems to be a certain among of disjunction between the guidance counselling and information services offered by institutions and the needs expressed by pupils. This does not mean that the counselling and information services available are not practical or that they do not correspond to real needs, but that their form (their language) and their contents do not necessarily match the expectations of this target group.

---

1 F. DUBET, *Idem*.
2 cf. F. DUBET, *Idem*.

An analysis of the practices and opinions of young people regarding guidance leads to a finer formulation of this hypothesis, a differentiation between the two streams.

Pupils in technical education say that they make use of most of the formal sources we have mentioned:

- the guidance counsellor: "*once a year, to do tests*". These are personality tests, level tests, "computerized" tests.
- the CIO: some pupils report two or three visits in a year.
- the classroom teacher: most pupils have used him as a source of guidance. They see him as a counsellor. Some pupils say that in 3rd year he did an hour of guidance per week with them, but this is an unusual case. In fact, pupils of both streams seem to seek the classroom teacher's help for guidance primarily in 3rd or in 2nd year, a guidance need which still deals with initial training itself rather than with jobs.
- ONISEP brochures: distributed in class by the classroom teacher or the guidance counsellor.

Pupils in vocational education have more "multi-form" practices, and a more multi-directional search for information. Most frequently they contact their teachers, but not necessarily the classroom teacher; some of them say they approached the headmaster of their school for information. "Official" sources - guidance counsellors, CIOs, ONISEP brochures - seem to be less in demand. Other information sources mentioned are more heterogeneous. One pupil states his information source as being "*a book at FNAC*"[1] (hotel-catering); another got information on the stream he was interested in from the press. We must add that the stream in this particular case (electronic maintenance) had just been created and a local newspaper had written an article about it.

---

1 A chain of popular bookshops with outlets in most large cities in France and elsewhere.

This "multi-directional" aspect of the search for information among vocational pupils makes them seem more active in their efforts and closer to the realities of employment, particularly in their ability to go beyond the information offered at school, whereas pupils in technical schools seem to maintain an attitude where training and diplomas still make up their entire horizon. For the latter (and this applies no doubt even more to pupils in general education), the decision-making is postponed to a later date. In other words, for them is more than for the others school life a part of the moratory period we mentioned in the previous chapter.

3.1.3. Opinions, practices and needs

We will now attempt to demonstrate and analyze how young people in technical or vocational initial training view the various resources providing counselling and information regarding their educational and vocational guidance. From this data we will then attempt to shed light on their needs.

Overall, what we have gathered from our interviews is that guidance counsellors are particularly criticized. There are two reasons for this:

- on the one hand, pupils associate them with their failure situation: "*they sent me to a "BEP" course*", "*he told me I didn't have the right level*" (statements by pupils in vocational education). These remarks show that they see guidance as a sanction, even though it is in fact meant to counsel and is based on a reality principle.
- on the other hand, pupils have the impression that the counsellors do not give them sufficient information, or at least not meaningful information: "*I didn't learn a thing*" says one pupil in the technical stream about a group session. "*It wasn't precise enough*", says a vocational pupil. "*It's a bunch of nonsense*", says another. "*The explanations in the newspaper article were better than the counsellor's*", claims yet another.

This criticism (which is not always objective) can be explained by the fact that more than being disappointed, pupils feel trapped by the guidance process and turn against the counsellors: "*it's all baloney*" "*they just want to fool us*", "*we feel a bit trapped*" ...
Moreover, all of their comments show a certain distrust of oral information, which they see as useless verbiage and oppose to a desire for "concrete" information.
Even though they are not satisfied with group sessions because they find them "*too general*", they still do not take the trouble of requesting a private interview with the counsellor, nor do they spontaneously visit a CIO.

The ONISEP brochures are criticized as much as the guidance counsellors: "*there aren't enough explanations*", "*I feel like I'm reading the same thing all the time*", "*they changed three times in one year*" ... all comments - contradictory at times - that show that young people put little faith in them. One pupil declared that he had never read them. These comments come from young people who were given the brochures during a group information session with their guidance counsellor. As reactions, they are similar to those provoked by the counsellors themselves.
Pupils complain that the brochures are too general, too vague. They don't feel that the brochures are relevant for them. They complain that the guidance counsellors don't explain the brochures enough (one could also raise the point - which is not mentioned by the pupils - of whether the brochures might not show up a problem this type of unsuccessful pupils have with written text).
The same criticism applies to the information services of the armed forces. The "army van" disappointed all those who went there to get information: "*there's no information on technical stuff*". There again, it is difficult to know whether the van really had no information of this type or whether the pupils didn't choose it because the appearance didn't suit them.

In general, pupils in both the technical and vocational streams seem to favour informal sources of information.
Information is passed along through connections and informal networks. These networks are basically made up of "*pals*", in other words they are primarily non-family. The family - brothers or sisters - are seldom mentioned as infor-

mation sources. Their role undoubtedly varies according to the groups involved (social and family environment, number of siblings and position in the family, etc.).
When the family does get involved, it seems to be less in the form of counselling, experience or information, and rather in terms of a mobilization of the parents' family or professional relations to help find a job or an opportunity. The young person's orientation will then be contingent on this open possibility. This seems to apply more to pupils in vocational education than to those in technical streams, due to the nature of the jobs aimed at and the qualifications they require, but also because of the professional culture which still exists in these training areas.
This seems to be particularly the case for training in the hotel and catering trade, a rather closed environment where relations, co-optation and sponsorship (and sometimes outright string-pulling) perhaps play a greater role than elsewhere. Two cases in point: one pupil whose guidance is taken on directly by his father, a cook (arranging for a practical training period); another father, a mason, arranges an apprenticeship as a cook for his son with a restaurant owner with whom he has business connections.

According to the young people we asked, among school friends and acquaintances it is the one year older group who provide the best information, "*the most concrete*". They seem to play an important forerunner role and have a rather significant part in guidance: "*that works*" says one pupil.
Schoolmates are seen as being more reliable, but nevertheless within certain limits: "*one can't depend on them too much*", according to one pupil in a technical course.
However, the 1st year F2 pupils we asked said they would like to explain to 2nd year pupils what goes on in 1st year. Mostly they want to tell them about programme contents, the timetable, the time spent in the workshop. These are all details they seem not to have been given: "*we weren't expecting this much theory*". They have the feeling that they were poorly informed. The criteria involved here are course contents, not the possibilities offered by the course.

What can be said in conclusion about all this is that there is indeed a kind of disjunction between what institutions can offer in terms of the guidance and the demand for guidance counselling.

Young people feel frustrated by information which is too vague, too imprecise. Moreover, they consider the information impersonal, valid for anybody but not corresponding to very specific requests for concrete information. We can also mention their distrust towards a process which has little effect when compared to selection mechanisms and to the sanction aspect of the class council decisions.

Guidance counsellors are not always able to conduct individual interviews with all pupils; the pupils do not always spontaneously seek out the counsellor, perhaps because they do not see him as a person with whom this type of relation is possible. But what is also involved here is the pupil's need to be acknowledged, clearly identified, raised out of anonymity, his need not to be drowned in the mass. This is undoubtedly why pupils seem to have a favourable opinion of the classroom teacher, although he is neither a guidance specialist nor particularly knowledgeable about the reality of jobs and trades. Unlike the guidance counsellor, who is not always easily identified, the classroom teacher is well-known and pupils do not hesitate to go to him. But what is even more important: the teacher knows the pupils; he is aware of their level and their capacities, and especially their personal tastes, their family, their social environment. He is also a stable reference point in the pupils' life, as they see him almost every day. All these are elements which have a great significance in the guidance process.

The frustration felt vis-à-vis the impersonal type of guidance offered by official institutions and everything connected to this process, such as the brochures or the CIOs, would seem to stem from the fact that the supply and the demand for information do not speak the same language or cover the same issues.

What most of the young people we interviewed seem to expect or hope for is "concrete experience" in contrast to abstract information; they want to know what they will experience in the short term, not their long-term status. The experience of the peer group or of friends allows empathy and short-term projection; it appears more tangible, even though it cannot be quite fully trusted. Abstract information, particularly charts and similar material, presuppose the ability to project into a more distant future, an understanding of education and training as a route limited by constraints of level and skills but which can be modified through various strategies.

Pupils who are confronted with the working world within the scope of their learning experience see this as a decisive moment in their educational career.

The work experience becomes a reference point from which they can attempt to make choices. Their decisions are then based not so much on technical or specifically job-related criteria, but rather on the working conditions involved, which, although they may have been indirectly known through family connections, often serve as a repellent or an inducement; if only to avoid the harshest among them.

Does this mean that guidance counselling in its present form is neither efficient nor relevant? We feel that overly hasty conclusions in this direction should be avoided. It is indeed the role of educational and vocational guidance to propose a certain "extraction" from excessively short-sighted views of vocational future from short-term projections and the transmission of pure experience. A process of "acculturation" and a "conceptualization" of the overall route are surely a necessary and integral part of the socialization process which we discussed in the first chapter.
However, in order to encourage this process, the supply of institutional guidance services should be rooted more strongly in real life and in the immediate concerns of pupils; at the very least, it must have a certain degree of credibility for the majority of pupils as a truly efficient instrument with regard to the class council's orientation decisions.

3.1.4. Attitudes of pupils towards qualification and employment

Another way of looking at pupils' attitude towards guidance is a finer analysis of their views on qualification and employment.

On this point there is no difference between responses from pupils in technical education and those from vocational pupils. The difference between the two streams would seem to be rather irrelevant.
Two categories of young people emerge in terms of their views on employment and qualification:

- pupils who have an instrumental view of work and employment;
- pupils who see work in promotional terms.

This typology is similar to the one we will be using later for young job seekers.

- **Pupils with an instrumental view of work.**

These young people can be found in both streams. What they expect from work is above all remuneration; the content is of little significance: "*I'll take any job*", says a 1st year pupil.

Their main motivation for getting a job as soon as possible would seem to be the desire to be independent from their parents: "*we can't wait to go to work*", says another pupil.

Another hypothesis on this point could be that these pupils are eager to work because they are "sick of school".

This hypothesis is confirmed by the low level of interest - even outright rejection - of these pupils towards theoretical knowledge.

This eagerness to have a job is thus attributable to the desire for economic independence and to the wish to come to grips with reality as soon as possible.

In their own way, these pupils prefer learning "on the spot", through experience.

- **Pupils with a promotional view of work**

Unlike for the previous group, job content is very important for these pupils. Work is viewed as something which should enrich: "*we have to do what we like*", says a pupil in 2nd year.

Several of these pupils therefore place a great amount of weight on the diploma. This is shown by their wishes to continue their education, illustrated by this comment from a 1st year pupil: "*I want to do a "bac" + 2*".

The diploma for them is therefore a means of gaining access to interesting jobs; it guarantees a certain degree of autonomy in the job situation and thus constitutes a chance of social betterment.

In this aspect, these pupils are not much different from "real senior secondary pupils"[1] whose project is exclusively school-based.

However, the significance of a diploma is not the same for all pupils; from this point of view, it might be useful to compare the two streams.

---

1 F. DUBET, *Idem*.

For pupils in technical courses, a diploma often seems to be a means of postponing entry into the world of work, of staying in the school system as long as possible. It is an educational choice, which at times may be disconnected from the employment world but not from adolescent life. It is an attempt to prolong the moratory period which we have referred to several times already.

For vocational pupils, on the other hand, the decision to continue their education seems to be linked directly to their experience in the world of work. They have gone through a number of practical training periods and judged them unsatisfactory: "*cooking is no bed of roses, it's tiring, the hours are hard. I'd like to do a vocational diploma*" says one pupil in a hotel and catering "BEP" course. Another pupil, doing a vocational "bac" in electronic maintenance, says: "*this job is always the same. There are bosses. I feel like staying in school*". A classmate adds: "*we're not well-enough trained for our job: we don't learn about contact with customers*".
In all of these cases, access to a higher-level diploma represents a means of doing something more valuable for their self-image than anything they have experienced until now.
These young people have experienced the reality of work, which acts as a kind of repellent. They see a diploma as a means of expanding their possibilities. This is what they mean when they say "*we need as much qualification as possible to have more openings*".
In this case, they have no feeling of education for its own sake.

The same will to stay at school can therefore come from two different kinds of motivation. We would suggest that this is due to a greater or lesser degree of proximity to the world of employment.
These young people place a great deal of value on the diploma. It gives them a better position on the employment market. It does not, however, indicate a particular level of knowledge.

It is interesting to see that most of the vocational pupils who want to continue their education are from the Lorraine region, sons of iron and steel workers. This detail is highly significant: the iron and industry has in the last few years adopted a policy of massive retraining for its employees. This element is most certainly an important factor in the desire of young people to stay in school.

The retraining efforts of the fathers make the sons highly aware - better than any words could - of the importance of qualification on the labour market. Here, retraining is a factor for social betterment.

To summarize all the elements presented here, these pupils were oriented towards technical or vocational streams on the basis of inadequate school results, and they blame guidance counsellors for this.
This situation shows the double nature of educational guidance in France, as we have demonstrated: an ongoing process of education through selection, on the one hand, and the orientation decision, viewed as an assignment, on the other hand.
This is another reason why the official networks of guidance services are used as little as possible.

3.2. YOUNG JOB SEEKERS

For this group, as we have already stated, we worked from a corpus of existing material. Young job seekers fall under the care of two types of public programmes: either the CFI ("Crédit Formation Individualisé") or the PAQUE programme ("Préparation Active à la QUalification et à l'Emploi").

Almost all of these young people have ended up being excluded from the school system. On the one hand, for sure, due to their inadequate school results. On the other hand, and perhaps this is the main reason, because of their problems in adjusting to the educational institution, a difficulty which for some leads to behavioural problems. Examples are numerous - among them statements like "*I beat up a teacher*", "*I got kicked out because I was absent too often*", "*I couldn't help laughing all the time*", "*I was summoned for indiscipline*" ... all illustrate a rather chaotic educational career.

These young people were directed towards various streams without having had a choice to make. They had absolutely no control of their own orientation: "*they sent me here*", says a pupil referring to a guidance counsellor. These pupils feel rejected, excluded from the system.

Claude Dubar's work[1] also shows that in a great number of cases, "guidance occurs without the young person, and sometimes in spite of him, carried out by the various instances of the Ministry of Education, which the young person can seldom identify precisely. "They" have decided for him". "They" are the teachers and the administrative instances who impose an orientation on the young person. More than for others, the orientation decision is imposed on these young people.

Among these young unemployed, some left school in 5th year, 4th year prevocational or 3rd year apprenticeship preparatory class, classes which correspond to levels V_2 and VI.

Some went as far as 3rd or 2nd year. Others started a "CAP" or "BEP" but quit after the first year.

These young people left school without having completed the educational cycle they were in. Moreover, they view their school-leaving as a definitive, irrevers-

---

1 C. DUBAR, *L'autre jeunesse, jeunes stagiaires sans diplôme*, Presses universitaires de Lille, 1987.

ible decision which they are sorry about. They refer to a feeling of "incomplete" schooling[1] .

In this section, we will examine the sources used by young people from the network of services available to job seekers; we have already seen that it is not the same as the one designed for young people in initial training.
Their contact person in these structures is the "correspondent". This person is in charge of following their progress.
Some of these young people have attended special guidance courses and/or had "stock-taking" evaluations of their skills.

3.2.1. Reactions of young job seekers to the offer of guidance counselling

In this section, we will be discussing the reaction of young job seekers to the offer of guidance counselling on the basis of a number of papers written on various regions, most often commissioned by the DRFPs[2] in order to assess the quality and efficacy of contact, information, counselling and stock-taking functions.[3]

- Stock-taking procedure

In the survey carried out in Poitou-Charentes (1990) on stock-taking procedures in the "Crédit Formation Individualisé" programme, it would seem that most young people are "*rather satisfied*" and "*encouraged*" by the procedures which they have experienced.

---

1. C. DUBAR, *Idem*.
2. D.R.F.P.: "Délégation Régionale à la formation Professionnelle" [Regional Delegation for Vocational Training]
3. Sophie BELOEIL, *Le rôle du correspondent dans le Crédit Formation Individualisé*, Mémoire de DESS de Psychologie du Travail et Psychologie sociale, Lille III, 1991; René COUDRAY, *Audit participatif des situations et pratiques de bilan dans le dispositif CFI*, région de Bourgogne, Délégation à la Formation Professionnelle, 1991; Catherine FROISSART, *Apports des travaux d'études et d'évaluation réalisées sur le CFI de 1989 à 1992*, Paris, FORS, 1992; Claire PARGNY, *Enquête sur le bilan du Crédit Formation Individualisé*, D.R.F.P. Poitou Charentes, 1990; le rôle des correspondants - GREP/MADIF - Crédit Formation Individualisé, Collection 1991 - distributed by Centre Inffo.

Asked about the usefulness of stock-taking, the young people surveyed (153 young people having experienced stock-taking) stated that stock-taking was quite a good way of:

- knowing their school level
- make sure their project was coherent and adapted to their possibilities
- check their capabilities
- take stock to plan a route and prepare a vocational project

The survey quotes a number of positive comments, such as:

- "*I saw my level, I understood that I could work*"
- "*I'd left school a long time before but I saw I hadn't forgotten everything*"
- "*I'm not as bad as I thought*"
- "*it enabled me to concentrate on my choice and try to succeed*"
- "*it's a door that opened for me*"
- "*it showed me that I was able to tackle a precise project*"

Nevertheless, the young people surveyed seem to be quite severe in their judgement of the tests carried out, criticizing the tests' tendency to reproduce school structures from which they often feel alienated and cut off:

- "*stock-taking put me back to school*"
- "*they gave us stupid tests that had nothing to do with what we want to do*"

On a more general plane, and even though the necessity of stock-taking is not usually questioned, seeming even broadly recognized and accepted, young people do express a certain number of negative impressions, particularly regarding procedures, delays or lack of information:

- "*I did the test in 5 minutes and I waited almost a year*"
- "*the results are too long*"
- "*at first I believed in it to get out of it. I waited eight months. I'm still waiting and hoping for an answer*"
- "*you can't judge a person with tests*"

In both their positive and negative reactions, young people react according to the school level they had before stock-taking. It seems those who were "good" in school were reassured by the stock-taking and the weaker ones discouraged.

For the latter, stock-taking is misunderstood, even feared: it is compared to an evaluation or an examination: "*I failed my stock-taking*".

Our latest work (diagnostic work among correspondents and other participants involved in the PAQUE programme) on guidance as a whole and stock-taking in particular shows that a number of precautions should be taken when using stock-taking measures, at least within CFI and PAQUE.

Beyond the purely technical aspects of the stock-taking activity, which can vary substantially from one service or local organization to the other, it would seem that stock-taking itself also needs to be flanked by proper support measures in order to be successful. Concretely, these support measures should consist of:

- information (individual or collective information prior to the beginning of stock-taking) offered to the young person on the procedure (duration, place, means, etc.) and the objectives of stock-taking;
- discussion of these objectives between the young person and his/her correspondent;
- fine-tuning of stock-taking measures and appropriate implementation of the measures by the organization offering the service;
- return of stock-taking results. This result must be intelligible for the young person and useful to the correspondent; it must lead to an exchange of ideas between the young person, the provider of the service and the correspondent in order to jointly determine the steps to follow.

In his evaluation of stock-taking procedures, René COUDRAY uses young people's refusals and abandonments as an analytical factor. This seems to be a rather good indicator of dissatisfaction, even though a more exact quantitative analysis would be needed.
Nationally, the average "loss" rate between the time when the stock-taking was commissioned and the end of the procedure is more than 30 %.
The reasons stated are excessively long delays, transportation problems, bureaucratic "red tape", lack of motivation and/or poor comprehension and a certain amount of worry - or other "solutions" - employment, military service, etc.

- The correspondent

In the study carried out by GREP and MADIF (mentioned earlier in this report), the authors point out that young people find it difficult to understand the function of the correspondent, which is not too clearly defined. Young people do not see their involvement with the CFI programme as a series of phases from the first contact with the correspondent to integration in a training route. In fact, they view the training phase as being more important than the contact/guidance phase, tending to disregard the significance of this phase where many decisions are taken.

In this study, as in another conducted in the Valenciennes area by COPAS ("Conseil en Pratiques et Analyses Sociales") on some 60 young people in the CFI programme (quoted by Sophie Beloeil), it would seem clear that young people's understanding of the programme is not at all uniform, fluctuating in terms of their initial training level and the coherence of their vocational project, and more broadly in terms of their attitudes to employment and qualification (cf Attitudes of young job seekers towards work and training). It is therefore not surprising that young people have contradictory views on the correspondent.

- For some of them, the correspondent is a mediator between the young person and the adult world, its institutions, the programme and its often unclear codes and language. What is therefore vital is the correspondent's ability to listen, his quality as a person "*who helps choose a training programme*", "*that understands us and that we understand*", and from whom help can be expected: "*he's someone who can give information*", "*who encourages us to try*", "*if we have a problem, we go to him*".
  In fact, the more autonomous and sure of his integration project a young person is, the more likely he is to need the correspondent's help. Otherwise the correspondent, mediator and stable reference point along the route, helps mobilize the young person towards his integration while bolstering his/her self-confidence and expecting efforts on his/her part to "*manage*".

- For others, the correspondent is more a person to contact rather than a resource person able to guide the young person along an integration route.

For the GREP ("Groupe de Recherche pour l'Education et la Perspective"), what is obvious here is the ambiguity of the correspondent's role. Rather than acting directly on a particular problem, he involves other partners or institutions: social workers, ANPE personnel, organizations offering stock-taking and training services.

In fact, the correspondent "*can do everything and nothing*". He is an intermediary who must allow the young person to take a critical look at him/herself and construct his/her own integration route.

Within this process, however, many obstacles can crop up (cf. 2.2.2 - Roles and problems of personnel in contact, follow-up and stock-taking structures), not the least of which is the scope of the possibilities available locally, which leads many young people to believe that "*correspondents guide young people in terms of open possibilities*".

Another difficulty involves the very nature of the demand from young people, a demand which is generally not limited to jobs and training possibilities.

Faced with this multi-faceted demand, not all correspondents are able to respond in the same manner. Some tend to limit their activity to shaping training routes, while others see themselves more as social helpers taking into account the totality of difficulties young people have to cope with. This second interpretation of the function of a correspondent has the advantage of easing individual integration routes, which young people sometimes experience as negative as a result of the lack of coordination between the various modules or stages set up by various organizations and services. It compensates for the lack of support - beyond the training itself - from training organizations, particularly in the case of qualification courses based on the acquisition of technical rather than social skills.

Nevertheless, this understanding of the global dimension of integration goes far beyond the mere contact, information and guidance functions, assuming correspondents to be in a position to integrate into networks and collaborate with the various participants involved in some way with the young people concerned. This presupposes particularly that they be able to broaden their

activity beyond an individual response to demand, integrating this activity within the concept of overall local development.

3.2.2. Attitudes of young job seekers towards work and training

After having examined the reactions and opinions of young people vis-à-vis the guidance services offered by the integration services network constituted by the PAIOs and the "Missions Locales", we now want to review the attitudes and interrelationships of young people towards employment and training, so as to be able to analyze not only the demand, but also the needs in this area.

FORS Recherche Sociale has carried out several studies on young job seekers[1], to shed light on who these young people are and particularly to record their attitude towards employment and qualification.

Most of these studies have sought to discover the level of social and vocational integration of young people entering "preparation to employment" practical training periods, in order to assess the impact of these programmes on the systems of norms and values they are based on. With this aim in mind, the studies have attempted to show the level of adherence of the young job seekers surveyed to the dominant values of their society and to the objectives arising from these values, as well as their adoption of behaviour patterns conforming to the norms viewed as legitimate in their society.

This approach to the concept of integration, based on the hypotheses developed by the sociologist R.K. Merton (functionalist approach), makes it possible to determine integration profiles on the basis of the systems of values and norms internalized by individuals.

---

1 - Analyse de l'impact des stages de préparation à l'emploi sur le devenir des jeunes de 16 à 25 ans - February 1989 - C. Froissart, F. Aballéa / FORS Recherche Sociale.
- Evaluation du programme PAQUE (Lorraine) - May 1993 - C. Froissart, F. Darty / FORS Recherche Sociale.
- Devenir des jeunes du Limousin ayant participé à des phases qualifiantes dans le cadre du Crédit Formation Individualisé - September 1993 - F. Darty / FORS Recherche Sociale.
- Devenir des jeunes ayant suivi des formations aux métiers du spectacle - D. Barbe / FORS Recherche Sociale.

Although this type of approach might seem somewhat normative, it is nevertheless a dynamic approach, in the sense that integration is defined less as a state than as a process. No one is totally non-integrated; otherwise, survival would become a problem. Nor is anyone totally integrated, if only because the conditions of integration, particularly the system of values and norms held by society, evolve.

In this approach, social integration and vocational integration do not stand in opposition to each other. Vocational integration is only one element of social integration, inasmuch as it is connected to one particular segment of the social environment, namely work.

Assessing young people's vocational integration is thus nothing other than analyzing their adherence process to the values connected with work (vocational success, training, autonomy, responsibility, etc.) and their acceptance for themselves of normal behaviour patterns in order to achieve the objectives implicit in these values (respect for discipline, for hierarchy and rules, following through a training programme, etc.).

The first study[1] we carried out on the basis of this interpretation of integration allowed us to establish five profiles which have retained their validity throughout our later research and in the interviews we conducted among young job seekers for our CEDEFOP study.

The following pages will cover most of the content of this study as we attempt, on the one hand, to characterize the integration mode of the young people surveyed, particularly in the vocational area, and on the other hand to take into account the various reasons behind the integration modes observed. Among these, in addition to the impact of the practical training periods the young people participated in, which will not be mentioned here, we have particularly noted their educational and vocational careers prior to the training periods, their family environments and their social origins.

---

1 cf. the study presented below (Analyse de l'impact des stages de préparation à l'emploi sur le devenir des jeunes de 16 à 25 ans).

It should be noted that our analysis is based on the opinions expressed by the young people themselves. We have also taken into account a certain amount of objective data. This approach has allowed us to link the information gathered with the relationship between this information and the young people surveyed.

These five profiles consist

- on the one hand, of three profiles which could be qualified as "coherent", inasmuch as views towards values and norms in various social areas are of similar natures (non-integration to systems of socio-vocational values and/or norms; conformism or respect of norms in both the social and vocational spheres; adherence to the dominant systems of values and norms.).
- on the other hand, of two profiles for which there is no perfect correlation between mode of social integration and mode of vocational integration. This gap between integration modalities in the social area and integration modalities in the vocational area seems to stem from a modification of the young person's attitude towards the world of work as a result of "preparation to employment" practical training periods, the effects of which were not always clearly visible in other segments of the social environment at the time of our interviews (non-integration in the social sphere and respect of norms in the vocational field; conformism in the social sphere and vocational integration in a promotion-based sense).

1. Profiles of young people who have taken part in a "preparation to employment" practical training period

These five profiles, as we mentioned earlier, were established on the basis of interviews conducted among young job seekers who participated in a "preparation to employment" practical training period.

Since 1989, these schemes have been integrated into the "Crédit Formation Individualisé" (CFI) programme, which provides young unqualified job seekers the opportunity to embark on an integration route combining training periods or modules which allow them to develop a vocational project, acquire preliminary qualifications or work towards a vocational qualification and a level V diploma. We will return to this point.

Details of each of the profiles:

A. Non-integration to systems of socio-vocational values and/or norms (young people evading the issue of work)

The young people belonging to this group have avoided the issue of work in their modalities of integration, an avoidance which is the result of either their lack of vocational prospects or their difficulty or incapacity of integrating to the world of work due to their fear of frustrations, of insecurity, of the failures associated with the working world.

In the absence of vocational integration, marriage for girls and recourse to help networks, or more broadly "bargaining" relationships within society (family, pals, structures) become means of holding one's own in the social sphere, whereby young people do not always have a particularly clear view of what is legal or legitimate and what not, what corresponds to social development and what not.

Somewhat marginal to the "normal" society mechanisms, young people with this profile have at best a poor mastery of societal interrelationships, referring to their rights without always knowing them, having difficulties in utilizing the structures and services at their disposal, remaining total outsiders to civic life.

A great majority of the young people in this category left school very early, at 16 or 17, after attending "CPPN" pre-vocational classes or "CPA" apprenticeship preparatory classes, sometimes the first year of a "CAP" course.

Most of them do not have a clear recollection of their school career, as for them this was a chaotic period characterized by repeated failures. They have forgotten how old they were when they left primary school, how many years they repeated, how much time they spent in special education, how old they were when they started the CPPN or the CPA class, etc. What they do know, on the other hand, is that they were never in control of what was going on, that they were oriented by the school system without ever having made a choice, and that from one step to the next, they were directed into streams leading them to leave

the school system, from which they feel rejected, without always having wanted it really, even regretting it at times.

Although they are sometimes vague about their school careers, they can often be extremely precise about the reasons for what they consider their educational failure, leaving school without a diploma. The family is sometimes blamed for their unsuccessful school career - their parents' geographic mobility, emotional problems in the family or placement in a children's home. At other times structural reasons are evoked. The school system itself is blamed for not having been able to cope with people like them: teachers impossible to get along with, long hours without being able to move, the abstractness of teaching, etc. Most striking throughout these interviews, however, are the self-destructive comments - "*it was too hard for me*", "*they threw me out, I guess I was really impossible*", "*I wasn't good enough in French*" - which in a way express their acceptance of reality and of their outsider position in the school environment, and by extension, in the world of work. Without a diploma, without access to training, they feel deprived of an instrument which in their eyes is essential to successfully enter the employment market.

This feeling of failure and non-integration into normal society is often reinforced by their family and social environment, more particularly by

- the absence of models they might want to imitate. If the father works, it is often at an unqualified, hard, precarious job, and the mother is at home, at best working as a cleaning woman or baby-sitter.
- the absence of connections likely to facilitate their vocational integration. The father's low level of vocational integration or his lack of work, together with the parents' often massive problems of social integration, lead to a lack of networks operating around the family. The peer group, for those who belong to a neighbourhood network, generally consists of young people with similar profiles, who cannot provide more than odd jobs, "deals", "tricks". This low-level integration, precarious as it may be, becomes vital, as it is often the only way these young people have of achieving recognition of any sort.
- the absence of emotional relationships within the family which would provide recognition, support, appreciation. In some cases, the authoritarian structures established by the father, the parents' marital

instability, or placement in a children's home can be factors that contribute to confusing a child's self-image and reinforce feelings of failure and inadequacy. At the opposite extreme, young people who cannot assert themselves as independent entities often come from mother-dominant families, where children are in a certain way deprived of their identity, deprived even of their failures. This is particularly likely in certain single-parent families where the child is totally controlled by the mother.

It should also be mentioned that relations with siblings are generally not sufficient to make up for these inadequacies, as in most cases these siblings are dealing with nearly the same integration modalities.

In the cases at hand, the desire to join a practical training scheme is not at all the expression of a will to integrate into the labour market in spite of the problems involved: on the contrary, it is the expression of a desire to run away. In many cases, young people are running away from the family environment and its constraints and delaying their entry into the world of work and adult life.

Girls, more determined than boys to leave the family in order to escape household chores and gain the freedom they feel deprived of to a higher extent than boys, view practical training schemes as being somehow a prolongation of the school period (at least for the younger ones) a time when, even without a job, they can withdraw somewhat from family constraints and break the isolation of unemployment.

Without vocational prospects other than house-cleaning or baby-sitting, just like their own mothers, and with no other reason for marriage than gaining their independence and improving their social status, these girls do not see "preparation to employment" practical training periods as a means of getting a job, no matter the vocational area of the programme. At best, they are a way of getting money.

Boys may express the need to work more often, but the image they have of themselves, their own inability regarding vocational integration or the difficulties associated with work for those who have been confronted with it more often than not lead them to seek refuge in passiveness or integration in marginal sectors of the economy. They treat the "preparation to employment" practical training periods according to the same logic: their efforts to enter such schemes are rarely described as the result of a voluntary step, no more than as part of a broader job search, but in a sense the result of a complex set of events over which they have no control and which they have accepted for lack of an immediate project.

B. Non-integration in the social sphere - respect of norms in the vocational sphere (young people for whom the training period has opened up employment prospects)

Young people displaying this type of profile are characterized by an integration into the social sphere similar to the one presented in the previous category with, in some cases, recourse to assistance networks or with strong relations to a marginal economy of barter deals and schemes, and by a poor knowledge of their rights and duties and of the structures and services at their disposal. However, these persons are nevertheless able to integrate into the world of work through job-seeking efforts, through behaviour patterns adapted to work, showing that they are able to submit to what is expected of them if they are remunerated better for it than what they could expect to get through the assistance networks or private schemes.

This type of profile is often characterized by a certain fragility of behaviour patterns in the vocational area, which, in the case of an overly prolonged period of unemployment or of extreme work-related constraints could trigger a return to certain forms of deviation.

With a social integration mode resembling the one described above, the young people corresponding to this profile seem, however, to have the capacities which could lead to a successful integration into the labour market.

With educational and vocational careers marked by failures, as above, and coming from families and social backgrounds also characterized by lack of identification models, by the weakness of networks regarding access to employment, often by troubled family relationships, these young people have settled into a marginal situation by using the assistance networks or they have entered an economy based on barter deals and schemes. In contrast to the first group, however, either because they suffer from the isolation or from the household-based activity, or because they see their pals as offering a kind of vocational integration model which they consider acceptable or even desirable in terms of wage levels, these young people are willing to try to find employment, under the condition that this employment leads to an improvement of their current situation, providing either a break from solitude, or access to leisure activities which for lack of money had until then consisted of little more than walking around the neighbourhood.

For these young people, entering a practical training scheme is often the result of a rather unstable and confused logic where the desire to find a job is hardly more manifest. But this "hardly more" is essential to the scheme's effect on the modification of the vocational integration modalities adopted.

C. Conformism or respect of norms in both the social and vocational spheres (young people with an instrumental view of work)

In terms of their vocational integration, all the young people we classified in this type of profile demonstrate behaviour patterns towards work which reflect what society expects of them while not viewing work as an important element of their social status or of their personal identity. Basically they expect only remuneration from work, so as to, as the case may be, start life with a partner, gain their independence or maintain a desired level in the area of leisure and consumer spending.

The young people in this group seem to want to adopt patterns of behaviour their society (family, employers, all other types of relations) would condone. Even though these behaviour patterns do not always presuppose adherence to the values they are based on, they are chosen so that personal and vocational projects (evolved basically in terms of salary levels and job stability) might succeed, so that the modalities of integration chosen are not questioned. These young people spend, but no more than they earn; they are involved in leisure activities but respect constraints placed on them by job and family life; they refrain from claiming their rights if this puts their vocational integration at risk, or from asserting their independence from their family if this puts their position in the family in danger; they undertake measures towards social integration only if they are based on a personal project or if family solidarity depends on them; they vote like their peer group, their work colleagues or close family members. For this type of person, recognition is sought more in the private sphere than in the vocational sphere, and the two are strictly separate.

The major difference between these young people and the previous groups is undoubtedly that they feel less disadvantaged than the others, that their profiles or their identities are less characterized by failure.

More heterogeneous in terms of educational and vocational careers, this group is also more diversified than the previous two in terms of socio-vocational origins. Each of these young people, viewed independently from the others, has some features which facilitate integration.

These facilitating features can be:

- an educational career with few failures and sufficiently long to have achieved a "CAP" diploma, or for those who are older, a career which has allowed them to gather vocational experience through successive limited contracts prior to entering a practical training scheme. These contracts have never ended by unilateral breaks initiated by the young person him/herself or by the employer due to the young person's incapacity of managing the constraints connected to the employment contract, in contrast to the two previous profiles.

- the existence within the family of models they want to conform to, either the father or the siblings. Moreover, the image these young people have of their fathers' or siblings' job in terms of skills, job stability and wage level helps them face entry into the vocational sphere without fear or at least develop a precise project in this direction. We must add that although mothers in this group are employed more often than in the two previous groups, their jobs are not usually such that girls are motivated towards employment as a result. When girls refer to a vocational model, it is usually embodied by sisters or girlfriends rather than by their mothers.
- the existence of a network of connections which, although it may not directly influence hiring, at least provides support in job-seeking efforts: help in drawing up a CV, in writing letters of application, information on job offers or openings, temporary jobs until a more stable or better-paid job comes up, etc.
- the emotional security provided by the family, friends, sometimes by the spouse, a feeling of recognition and support in their efforts.

No matter how tenuous these features can be, all the young people we studied in this category want to enter a practical training scheme in order to conform to what society expects of them, i.e. to achieve financial security through employment. This desire for practical training should be seen as part of their efforts to find a job, efforts which have been unsuccessful until now due to the lack of a diploma or of sufficiently consolidated work experience. By entering a programme organized by ANPE, the "Mission Locale" or the PAIO, they have chosen an access to work which most of them view as a means of gaining direct access to an employment contract. Some of them, however, more aware of the conditions governing the employment market, view the practical training schemes as a means to acquire or broaden their vocational experience in spite of their lack of diploma in order to more effectively tackle job-seeking in the short term. What they all have in common is the weak role of the area of specialization in selecting a training scheme, particularly as prior vocational skills were minimal. The explicit aim expressed by these young people is access to

remuneration, either in order to take advantage of leisure activities, or to start partnership and marriage, or to help in the family. In all cases, employment and thus remuneration are viewed as means of demonstrating certain signs of integration, signs these young people seek in order to be recognized in society (especially by the peer group and the family) without these signs necessarily corresponding clearly to a true capacity of assertion.

D. Conformism in the social sphere together with a promotional type of vocational integration (young people for whom the training period has led to the evolution of promotional prospects)

Although conformism or acceptance of social rules is characteristic of the behaviour of young people belonging to this fourth type, what they have to say about work shows their interest in the job found upon leaving a practical training scheme, and their vocational projects are based on promotional aspects they had not considered at the outset, i.e. at the beginning of the practical training period, sometimes going as far as signature of a first employment contract.

In these cases, practical training became a means of elaborating a more precise vocational project or, as a result of the recognition and qualification brought by employment, these young people no longer view work only as a means of access to remuneration, but rather as a means to develop their personal and social identity, and they develop vocational projects on the basis of a system of opinions in which the world of work and their position in this world have be reassessed. Without going into the details of the effect of this reassessment on modalities of social integration, we can say that these young people seem to have developed a willingness to assert their newly-acquired social status both within the family and among friends. The more the educational and vocational career had earlier been characterized by failure, the more the acquisition of a "profession" seems closely connected to the acquisition of an identity.

These young people's initial profile is not very different from those in the previous group. However, our interviews showed

- on the one hand, personalities probably less affected by failures, either because their unemployment was basically due to local economic conditions, or because these young people find compensation for their weak school results in a family environment which provides them with emotional support as well as with strong assistance in their job-seeking efforts.
- on the other hand, that these young people's entry into a practical training scheme is characterized not only by the mere motivation of getting an income, but also by the existence of a vocational project defined by the nature of the activities they would like to exercise. This project may have been developed on the basis of vocational experience gathered here and there prior to their entry into the practical training scheme ("CPA" - preparation for "CAP" - other training programmes) and, though not highly consolidated, it seems to have played a major role in their views regarding the world of employment: the nature of the work experience is taken into account in the vocational integration modalities contemplated.

Taking this "embryonic" project into account, these young people have developed and consolidated it by means of the practical training they have already undergone. Whatever the orientation of these past schemes, the periods spent in companies have all been selected with the project in mind and they have enabled participants to gauge their capacity of complying to the demands of the work they had selected.

E. Adherence to the dominant systems of values and norms (young people with promotional prospects)

The young people classified as having this profile are those for whom integration can be described as promotional in nature. With their view of work as an element of social status and personal identity, these young people differ from the "conformist" type by placing both their job-seeking efforts and their mode of integration to work within the scope of a career plan where training is a more dominating element than experience.

In the social sphere this promotional mobility is accompanied by efforts by these young people to control their own destiny and by an assertion of their personal identity, even if they still live at home. More than the young people in the other categories, this group make personal projects aiming at independence from the family sphere and elaborate means of achieving this aim (information, financial means, steps). When marriage is planned, it is not so much to conform to a system of norms but to maintain the stability of the partnership, sometimes to confirm a social status already acquired within the vocational sphere. These young people have an active control of their lives; the boundaries separating the vocational from the private sphere become pale and, although weak, their participation in social and political life is demonstrated by their interest in current events and by voting.

Young people with this profile are those who, prior to their entry in "preparation to employment" practical training periods, could be characterized by:

- an appreciably longer educational and vocational career. Having left school at "CAP" or "BEP" level, they have no diploma but they acquired vocational experience during their practical training or through vocational activity prior to the training programme, and this experience has played a dominant role in the definition of their vocational project.
- being 20 to 25 at the time of their entry into a practical training scheme, with all boys having completed their military service and all girls being independent from their families. Some girls live alone or in a partnership, but marriage or marriage plans, at least at the time of the beginning of the programme, do not constitute an alternative to an integration project connected to entry into the vocational sphere. The more these young girls' previous experience of life is home-oriented and dedicated to child-raising, the more consolidated is their integration project.
- For boys living at home, initial projects seem to have less to do with the possibility of living in a partnership than with the confirmation of their vocational project.

- In all cases, whether still at home or on their own prior to the beginning of practical training, these young people have a relationship with their parents based on equality and mutual recognition. Unemployment has not affected the nature of this relationship and has in a way kept the young people in an adolescent status.

Entry into a practical training scheme, particularly for young people living at home, is not a signal to the family of their willingness to enter the employment market, but rather the result of a personal decision to assert themselves as being fully in charge of their lives.

Although reasons for entering a practical training scheme are not totally univocal, what seems to dominate is a desire for training so as to improve initially acquired skills which they see as insufficient, not so much to have access to any job, but rather to have access to jobs where nature and contents are satisfactory. The training they seek, basically through vocational experience, is clearly viewed not only as an element of vocational integration and therefore of entry into the employment market, but also as an element enabling the young person to make choices among several possibilities both on the internal and on the external market.

From this point of view, the specialization area of the practical training becomes a major element justifying the contract between the young person and the training organization. The in-company periods proposed are significant not only for the hiring possibilities which might arise from them, but also due to the nature of the vocational skills they help acquire or expand.

Moreover, when young people have explicitly made efforts to integrate in the vocational sphere so as to find a means of personal improvement, which is the case for young women wanting to break from an exclusively private mode of integration, practical training schemes and in-company periods are seen as means of discovering abilities they are often unaware of themselves.

2. Profiles of young people in the PAQUE programme[1]

More recently, since July 1992, the PAQUE programme ("Préparation Active à la QUalification et à l'Emploi") has been operating for young people affected by multiple difficulties in social integration, a very low level of training (basic skills and logical reasoning) and a lack of vocational project. This programme is, in a sense, beyond the CFI programme and is intended to provide young people access to employment or combination with a vocational training programme within the scope of the CFI system.

We have evaluated a number of PAQUE projects and, within the scope of this evaluation, we have studied the characteristics of the participants[2] . Although this research led to the establishment of only three categories of young people (the other profiles mentioned above having disappeared, as we did not directly examine the evolution of young people's attitudes towards the world of work during or after the programme), we were able to see a great similarity to the profiles described above.

This similarity is particularly interesting as it shows that beyond aspects of cognitive remediation, what we have here is an upgrading of basic skills and socialization skills, a programme based on the preparation of a vocational project that is intended to play a major guidance role among those young job seekers experiencing the greatest integration difficulties.

It should be noted that although this programme is not clearly intended only for young people whose access to employment is affected by only the lack of a vocational project or vocational qualification (further practical training schemes or guidance modules being available to them in the CFI programme), it also does not presuppose a minimum entry "level" of training or of socialization.

---

1 We remind our readers that this programme was run from 1992 to 1993 and not renewed in 1994. It has been partially integrated into the CFI programme in the form of project mobilization routes.

2 cf. the study mentioned above, "Evaluation du programme PAQUE".

As a result, PAQUE participants often include a significant number of young people from a delinquent or near-delinquent environment, young people with police files or involved in drugs or alcohol. Particularly in urban areas, this programme deals with a high proportion of young foreigners, including young people with absolutely no knowledge of French. Moreover, the groups we investigated included a more or less significant number of young people with severe cognitive difficulties, several of them having gone through special education, and some with basic reading and writing problems nearing illiteracy.

Ignoring these considerations and more in terms of the attitude of these young people towards employment and training, we can present three types of young people entering the PAQUE programme:

A. Young people without future prospects

These young people share the characteristic that they entered the programme because nothing else was available, passively rather than actively. They have no future project and no particular desire to work, or at least this desire is not a major reason for entering the PAQUE programme.

In all of these cases, the programme is a way of not having to stay at home, where they are bored, and often it is an opportunity of going back to a training area which had, in some cases, been given up involuntarily.

The programme gives some of these young people the possibility of waiting for military service, postponing further choices until later; for others, it provides time to enter adult life slowly and to continue, at least for the duration of the scheme, being taken care of; for some others, in particular for a number of young women, it presents an opportunity of making a bit of money for the couple without having to consider employment seriously.

Many of them are young, between 16 and 19. They have no project in their private sphere, no more than in their vocational life. Girls consider only traditional jobs.

The young people we saw in this category did not have particular socialization problems. The younger ones felt good in the programme and intended to stay there as long as possible. Most of the time they participated in everything which was suggested to them, with the possible exception of in-company practical training, as this would force them to leave the group. Although they do not explicitly reject the idea of work, they do not feel ready to conform to its constraints. They often have low levels of self-confidence and over-value the importance of diplomas and training.

B. Young people with an instrumental view of work

All the young people we were able to classify into this group entered the training programme in order to find a job and/or remuneration. Some of them very much want to conform to what is expected of them, others want to make money one way or another, employment being one of the means of achieving this aim, on the same level as a training programme or even other, less legal approaches.

Most of the young people we met and classified in this group have great difficulties in their families or severe socialization problems. Often they did not really choose to enter the PAQUE programme, as they all, for various family or personal reasons, needed an income, or at least needed to prove to their families or to the judicial authorities that they were actively looking for a job.

In general, they have unpleasant memories of school and do not usually want to go into a long period of training or, more specifically, to continue their training after the PAQUE programme. If they have a positive view of the in-company practical training periods, it is more because they have seen the level of constraints involved in the job they did and in the company than because these periods provide pre-qualification or help to develop a vocational project.

For them, the constraints of work seem more important as a decision factor than the contents of the job. Employment is most often viewed only from the point of view of salary.

C. Young people with a promotional view of work

All of the young people we placed in this category view employment from a promotional perspective, in the sense that employment is not only a means of earning a salary but also a means of doing something interesting. They seem to differ from the preceding category through their willingness to undergo training in order to get work which will satisfy them in terms of job contents.

All of them entered the PAQUE programme in order to facilitate their vocational integration and improve their level of qualification. Most of them have already gained vocational experience or participated in qualification programmes.

They often enter the PAQUE programme with either a precise vocational project or at least an idea of what they want to do, and for them the training programme is a means to improve their level; for some of them it is also a way of confirming their project and pre-qualify. Their vocational project is often accompanied by a personal project aiming at greater autonomy from their parents, and many are already independent.

CONCLUSION: THE ISSUE OF MOBILITY

By way of conclusion we would like to return to the issue of mobility brought up in the initial task-setting.

We will examine the issue of geographic mobility with particular reference to the interviews we held in Thionville in Lorraine - a border area - as well as the issue of social mobility, even though this has already been handled in the course of the preceding chapters.

1. Geographic mobility

First of all it should be pointed out that the issue of geographic mobility is highly topical at the moment, and moreover, it is given considerable value. This has partly conditioned the responses we got from the young people we surveyed.

We established four types of attitudes towards mobility among the young people we met:

- young people with a positive view of changes of location
- young people in border areas
- children of immigrants
- young people who are indifferent to mobility

Young people with a positive view of changes of location

These are the young people who are most affected by current trends. They tend to talk about travelling, about dreams, more than about a real move project.
A distinction must be made between those for whom changing location is limited to the desire to travel and those who indeed have a project which involves a move, within France or abroad.
The former are young people who claim to be willing to go and live elsewhere. Their favourite destinations are "Florida", "Australia", "sunny countries", etc. ...
This attitudes is more widespread among pupils still in initial training, who are still rather "young". It can also be seen among some young job seekers. It is an attitude similar to rather unrealistic vocational projects such as "airplane pilot", "stylist", etc. For the young people involved, this wish to take off may constitute an fantasy alternative to the unsatisfactory situation they are in: an escape, so to speak. These are sometimes the same young people that guidance counsellors have trouble convincing to look for a job as far as the opposite end of town ...

There is a wish to travel, but no desire for mobility.

Those who truly desire mobility or who are indeed willing to move away for a job or a training opportunity are in a minority, and we have no significant information about them. Some of the young people we spoke to even claimed not to know any at all.

Young people in border areas

In Lorraine there is a certain basic receptivity to mobility. When they consider moving, it is almost always to Luxembourg rather than to Germany, less for reasons of distance than because of language problems.
Their motives for going to Luxembourg are totally financial: salaries in some sectors are much higher there than in France.
On the other hand, it is interesting to note that these young people have absolutely no intention of settling there and participating to Luxembourg's economic and social life: they want to commute to and from Lorraine on a daily basis.

Mobility is viewed from the point of view of work but not for residential purposes, even on a temporary basis.
Those most willing to move are pupils in the final year of a vocational "baccalauréat", whose exposure to the issue of employment is the most extensive.

Children of immigrants

For several reasons, it is difficult to differentiate between young EC immigrants (from Italy, Spain, Portugal, etc.) and those from outside the Community (North Africa, black Africa, Turkey, South-East Asia).
The first reason is that there is no tradition in France of politically viewing immigrants in terms of "communities" or ethnic groups.
The second, that certain groups form quite highly structured communities (the Turks, the Portuguese, the Chinese) while others choose more highly individualized or less cohesive integration processes (the North Africans, Africans, etc.) These differences are relatively independent from the size of the immigrant groups concerned or their continent of origin.

Nevertheless, we have observed two types of comments in favour of mobility among children of immigrants:

- comments stating the parents' example: "*I could go and live in Italy the same way they came to France*"; statements of this type tend to express intention rather than project (besides, such statements often include the condition "*if I had* to ..."). **The country of origin is sometimes integrated as one element of a multi-faceted social identity but not as a potential place of work or residence**, even for those who go there on holiday.
- comments more closely connected to a project (at times quite distant), involving links with the country of origin to develop a vocational project, even perhaps going into business. "*I'm thinking of going to Cameroon later, they need electro-technicians down there*". Another pupil, from Algeria, is considering establishing a family business in the electrical trade, combining his skills with his brothers'.

In contrast to the first set of comments, these statements are motivated, or justified. **These are projects that are perhaps not effectively realizable, but they appear realistic**.

The cases we studied did not involve EC countries. This was perhaps merely coincidence; nevertheless, this question could be the topic of a more in-depth study.

Young people who are indifferent to mobility

This is the group which most oppose mobility, although they claim to be willing to leave. **Some of this opposition to mobility corresponds to real constraints**: some young people have family responsibilities which limit their mobility regardless of their willingness.
Others set conditions right from the start: "*I'll go, but I have to be able to come back every evening*", "*I'm willing to go if I'm taken there and driven back*".
These comments usually come from those with the lowest levels of qualification, but not exclusively.
In fact, they do not truly consider leaving their region, as geographic location is viewed as an anchor, a guarantee of stability. These young people have the vaguest reference points: for them, family and emotional ties might constitute the only guarantee in the end. **For these young people the alternative is not between being sedentary or mobile, but between having roots and wandering**.

2. Social mobility

Under this heading, by having a second look at the arguments presented previously, we will see the extent to which guidance can influence the process of social reproduction.
We will examine three types of young people:

- pupils in technical streams
- pupils in vocational streams
- job seekers

These groups can be differentiated on the basis of their original social position and of their social evolution.

Pupils in technical streams

Using F. DUBET's terms, we could qualify this group as "new upper secondary pupils": they do not fit the image of the traditional upper secondary pupil. In general, their parents did not do long secondary courses; most of them are workers or technicians. These pupils have often repeated classes and are frequently "late" in terms of normal age. They are in industrial or tertiary technical courses[1].
As we have already seen, these pupils were oriented as a result of failure in 3rd year or 2nd year, without really having been given a choice of school or stream. They describe their guidance process as having been anonymous and blind. As they do not understand the system, they view the mechanisms of guidance as a machine of which they are merely a victim.
All would like to have a "baccalauréat" in order to have better chances on the employment market, but they view the diploma as losing its value.

Their trajectory is therefore characterized by a double contradictory movement: **their social status is rising, but they are in their stream because of failure at school and the diminished value of this stream. They are moving upwards but nevertheless disappointed**.

Pupils in vocational streams

These are pupils working towards a "CAP", a "BEP" or a vocational "baccalauréat". Socially, they come from the traditional working class: manual workers, but also craftsmen, employees, shopkeepers, etc.
All of them were oriented on the basis of a failure in 5th year or in "SES" (specialized education), in a "CPPN" class (pre-vocational class), either in 3rd or in 2nd year.
This orientation in fact establishes two groups in the vocational stream, the "CAP" and "BEP" classes and the vocational "baccalauréat" classes, and attitudes vary between the two.
The "CAP"-"BEP" pupils are more pessimistic, more resigned to their fate. **They have no reference to a trade and avoid making vocational projects, as**

1 F. DUBET, *Les lycéens*, Points Seuil, 1991.

these only lead to frustration. They see their future as an alternation between periods of unemployment and periods spent in training programmes.
Pupils in vocational "baccalauréat" classes are more positive. Having graduated from "CAP" or "BEP" classes, **some of them have a feeling of educational success**, a feeling of increased value through their "bac pro". Their reference to work is very strong, particularly for those who are furthest ahead in their course, especially due to alternance training. In-company periods have the effect of consolidating their vocational projects, even though they might not lead to feelings of social or vocational success. **Some of these pupils use their vocational skills at home**: this is a step towards autonomy which is not generally favoured by the world of work and business.

<u>Young unqualified job seekers</u>

Their parents tend to have precarious and unqualified jobs, assuming that one or both of them is not already unemployed.
Their school career is strongly characterized by failure, as they became outsiders in the educational system at an early date.
They have never had control of their own orientation, no more than they have had any choice regarding the streams into which they were guided. Like the previous group, they see themselves as the victims of mechanisms they do not understand. **Educational guidance keeps them in a position of exclusion and reinforces their low self-image. Their vocational projects are expressed in negative terms, based on the fact that they do not know what to do**.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Annuaire des services d'information et d'orientation: 1992-1993, Ministry of Education, Paris.

J. AUBRET: "Télématique, information et orientation: analyse des questions et réponses de deux messageries télématiques", *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, no. 2, 1989.

R. BALLION: *Les consommateurs d'école*, Stock, Paris, 1982.

R. BALLION: "Le choix du collège: le comportement "éclairé" des familles", *Revue française de Sociologie*, XXVII-4, 1986.

R. BALLION: *La bonne école*, Hatier, Paris, 1992.

R. BALLION, F. OEUVRARD: *Le choix du lycée*, Ministry of Education, "Délégation à l'Education Permanente", Paris, 1989.

Sophie BELOEIL: *Le rôle du correspondent dans le Crédit Formation Individualisé*, Mémoire de DESS de Psychologie du Travail et Psychologie sociale, Lille III, 1991.

H. BERNARD: *Les missions locales pour l'insertion des jeunes en difficulté: rapport au ministre du Travail, de l'Emploi et de la Formation Professionnelle*, Paris, la Documentation française, 1989.

G. BEZ: "Redonner du souffle à l'orientation professionnelle", *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, no. 4, 1981.

Gisèle BONAL: *Mission d'évaluation de la mise en place de la fonction bilan CFI en PACA*, DRFP Marseille, 1990.

Pascal BOUCHARD: *Orientation scolaire et professionnelle: de sérieuses interrogations*, Espace-Education, France-Culture, week of 27 - 30 September 1993 (radio programme).

Hubert BOUCHER: "Contre l'élitisme anti-républicain", *Le Monde*, 1st July 1993.

J.P. BOUTINET: "Esquisse du projet d'orientation des jeunes sortant de classes terminales", *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, no. 4, 1980.

M. BOYER: *Une collaboration psychologue-enseignant. Une procédure originale d'orientation*, contribution to the XIIth World Conference on Guidance, September 1987, Annecy.

Christian CAMBON: "L'orientation et l'information", *Propositions pour une plus grande efficacité des dispositifs de formation professionnelle.* Rapport à Monsieur le Ministre du Travail, de l'Emploi et de la Formation Professionnelle, Paris, June 1993.

Jean-Marc CASTANIER: *Approche de la fonction Accueil, Orientation, Suivi*, DRFP Languedoc/Roussillon, 1991.

Danielle COLARDYN: *Bilans de compétences personnelles et professionnelles*, Centre INFFO, 1989.

René COUDRAY: *Audit participatif des situations et pratiques de bilan dans le dispositif CFI*, région de Bourgogne, "Délégation à la Formation Professionnelle, 1991.

O. COUSIN: "L'effet d'établissement dans les collèges et lycées", *Revue française de Sociologie*, no. XXXIV-3, 1993.

Franck DARTY: *Evaluation du programme PAQUE*, Paris, FORS, 1993.

Claude DUBAR: *L'autre jeunesse, jeunes stagiaires sans diplôme*, Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1987.

François DUBET: *Les lycéens*, Paris, Seuil, 1991.

J.B. DUPONT: "Rôle et fonction des intérêts dans la définition du projet", *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, no. 3, 1987.

M. DURU: "Education des choix en orientation scolaire et professionnelle; de l'orientation en fin de 5ème au fonctionnement du collège", *Bulletin d'information de l'ONISEP*, no. 400, 1987.

J.L. FAURE: "Conclusions de l'étude-pilote Rhône-Alpes: l'information et l'orientation scolaires et professionnelles des jeunes", *Actualité de la formation permanente*, no. 50.

C. FORET: "Evolution de la place de l'information dans la démarche d'orientation", *Education permanente*, no. 109, 1992.

Catherine FROISSART, François ABALLEA: *Analyse de l'impact des stages de préparation à l'emploi sur le devenir des jeunes de 16 à 25 ans*, Paris, FORS, 1993.

Catherine FROISSART: *Apports des travaux d'études et d'évaluation réalisées sur le CFI de 1989 à 1992*, Paris, FORS, 1992.

Catherine FROISSART: *Evaluation du programme PAQUE*, Paris, FORS, 1993.

Claire GABBAI: *L'accueil, l'information et l'orientation: quelles réalités?* Université d'Angers, 1990.

Marie-Paule GESLIN, François ABALLEA: *Crédit Formation Individualisé: le fonctionnement du dispositif de zone*, Paris, FORS, 1990.

J. GUICHARD: "Organisation scolaire et insertion sociale des filles et des garçons", *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, no. 2, 1987.

M. HUTEAU: "Les origines et la naissance du mouvement d'orientation", *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, no. 1, 1979.

M. HUTEAU: "Activités des centres d'information et d'orientation: public, partenaires, méthodes", *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, no. 3, 1987.

D. JAECKLE: "De l'insertion à la mobilité: information et orientation professionnelle", *Actualité de la formation permanente*, no. 100, 1989.

D. JAECKLE: "Information orientation professionnelle: une complexité croissante", *Actualité de la formation permanente*, no. 105, 1990.

M. KATZ: "Orientation assistée par ordinateur et système d'information sur les métiers", *Perspectives*, no. 68, 1989.

A. KOKOSOWSKI: "Difficultés de la professionnalisation: les métiers de l'orientation", *Actualité de la formation permanente*, no. 105, 1990.

"La transition de l'école à la vie professionnelle", *International seminar organized by the International Association of Educational and Vocational Guidance*, CEDEFOP Flash, no. 5, 1986.

"Le dispositif d'aide à l'insertion en 1988-1989", *Information memo of the "DEP"* (Department of evaluation and planning) of the Ministry of Education, no. 36, 1989.

A. LEGRAND, G. SOLAUX: "Théories et pratiques des bilans d'orientation", *Education permanente* no. 109-110, March 1992: Bilan et Orientation.

D. LEMERCIER-HUHN: "Psychologie et information scolaire et professionnelle: étude de quelques effets de films vidéo concernant des professions sur les représentations et motivations", *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, no. 1, 1987.

F. de LEYMARIE:*L'orientation et l'insertion des jeunes par la formation en alternance. Un exemple: le stage d'insertion à la vie professionnelle (SIVP)*, ANPE contribution to the XIIth World Conference on Guidance, September 1987, Annecy

B. LIETARD: "Approche conceptuelle et plurielle des bilans", *Actualité de la formation permanente*, no. 84, 1988.

B. LIETARD: "Les bilans de compétences: un état des études et des expérimentations (1985-1992)", *Etudes et expérimentations en formation continue*, no. 15, 1992, p. 28-31.

"L'orientation a cinquante ans", *Cahiers de l'Education nationale*, no. 66, 1988.

Anne-Marie LUCAS: *La fonction bilan*, Centre INFFO, 1992, Collection Crédit Formation Individualisé.

P. MALLET: "La situation scolaire des adolescents issus de l'immigration", *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, no. 2, 1988.

Philippe MAUBANT, Raphaël SLAMA, Martine DANCOINE: *Le rôle des correspondants*, GREP/MADIF, Collection Crédit Formation Individualisé, 1991, Diffusion Centre INFFO.

P. MEHAUT, J.P. ROSE, A. MONACO, F. de CHASSEY: "La transition professionnelle: les jeunes de 16-18 ans", L'Harmattan, Paris, 1987.

J.G. MEILHAC: *Bilan d'activités des permanences d'accueil, d'information et d'orientation*, ADEP (Agence nationale pour le Développement de l'Education Permanente), Noisy, 1988.

C. MERLLIE: "Information orientation des adultes: repères bibliographiques", *Actualité de la formation permanente*, no. 105, 1090.

Sandra MICHEL: *Peut-on gérer les motivations?*, PUF, 1989.

Sandra MICHEL: *Le bilan personnel: outil de votre réussite*, Organisation, 1990.

Sandra MICHEL: *Capital compétence dans l'entreprise, une approche cognitive*, ESF, 1991.

J.G. NANCEY: "L'orientation professionnelle: ses rapports avec la formation professionnelle continue 1978-1980", *Actualité de la formation permanente*, no. 75, 1985.

Orientation et information professionnelles transnationales pour les jeunes et les adultes: rapport de synthèse de huit études menées pour le CEDEFOP.

Claire PARGNY: *Enquête sur le bilan du Crédit Formation Individualisé*, D.R.F.P. Poitou Charentes, 1990.

Passage des jeunes de l'école à la vie active: bilan prospectif du programme transition, IFAPLAN.

I. PELLE: "Diversifier les choix professionnels des filles: bilan et perspectives des actions d'information des CIO", *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*, no. 1, 1982.

J.L.PIEDNOIR: "Choisir son métier, quel casse-tête!", *L'enseignement tehcnique*, no. 140, 1988.

O. POLIAKOW: "L'orientation, un objectif paradoxal", *Education permanente*, no. 69, 1983.

Dominique POUCHARD: *Parcours des jeunes, les deux premières années du CFI*, Paris, AFPA, 1993.

Rapport d'activités du réseau des PAIO et des Missions Locales de Haute-Normandie, Paris, 1991.

Christine REVUZ (editor): "Bilan et orientation: première partie", *Education permanente*, no. 108, 1991.

Christine REVUZ (editor), **Martine DUMONT**: "Bilan et orientation: deuxième partie", *Education permanente*, no. 109.

B. RICHARDOT: "Pour une archéologie de l'orientation", *Education permanente*, no. 69, 1983.

R. SOLAZZI: "Formation des enseignants à une conception éducative de l'orientation", *Formation professionnelle et apprentissages*, no. 390, 1986.

J.C. SPINETTA: "Politique du ministère de l'éducation nationale dans les domaines de l'information, de l'orientation et de la formation professionnelle", *Documents CCCA*, no. 84, 1984.

E. VALLEE: "L'information et l'orientation des jeunes: le rôle de l'ANPE", *Documents CCCA*, no. 83, 1984.

G. VIALA: "L'orientation des moins de 25 ans", *Interfor informe*, no. 41, 1987.

A.G. WATTS: "Les services d'orientation scolaire et professionnelle pour les jeunes de 14 à 25 ans dans la communauté européenne" *Europe sociale supplément*, no. 4.

A.G. WATTS, U. KANN, K. ROBERTS et al.: "L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle: situations, méthodes, techniques", *Perspectives de l'Education*, no. 68, 1989.

S. WHULL: *Les exclus face à l'emploi*, Syros Alternatives, 1992.

J.P. WILLEMS: *L'orientation, de quel droit?*, *Actualité de la formation permanente*, no. 105, 1990.

APPENDIX

1. List of abbreviations 106
2. Training streams 107
3. Five-year law 109
4. Target groups 118

1 - List of abbreviations

A.F.P.A.:	Association pour la Formation Professionnelle des Adultes [Association for Adult Vocational Training]
A.N.P.E.:	Agence Nationale Pour l'Emploi [National Employment Agency]
B.E.P.:	Brevet d'Etudes Professionnelles [Certificate of Vocational Studies]
B.E.P.A.:	Brevet d'Etudes Professionnelles Agricoles [Certificate of Vocational Studies in Agriculture]
B.T.:	Brevet de Technicien [Technician's Certificate]
B.T.A.:	Brevet de Technicien Agricole [Technician's Certificate in Agriculture]
B.T.S.:	Brevet de Technicien Supérieur [Advanced Technician's Certificate]
C.A.P.:	Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle [Certificate of Vocational Aptitude]
C.A.P.A.:	Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle Agricole [Certificate of Vocational Aptitude in Agriculture]
C.C.A.S.:	Centre Communal d'Action Sociale [District Centre for Social Action]
C.E.S.:	Contrat Emploi Solidarité [Solidarity Employment Contract]
C.F.I.:	Crédit Formation Individualisé [Individualized Training Credit]
C.I.D.J.:	Centre d'Information et de Documentation pour la Jeunesse [Information and Documentation Centre for Young People]
C.I.O.:	Centre d'Information et d'Orientation [Information And Guidance Centre]
C.L.E.F.:	Comité Local de l'Emploi et de la Formation [Local Committee for Employment Training]
C.P.A.:	Classe Pré Apprentissage [Apprenticeship preparatory class]
C.P.G.E.:	Classe Préparatoire aux Grandes Ecoles [Preparatory class to higher education]
C.P.P.N.:	Classe Pré-Professionnelle de Niveau [Pre-vocational class]

D.I.J.: Délégation Interministérielle à l'Insertion des Jeunes
[Interministerial Delegation for the Integration of Young People]

D.I.J.E.N.: Dispositif d'Insertion des Jeunes de l'Education Nationale
[Youth integration programme of the Ministry of Education]

D.R.E.P.: Délégation Régionale à la Formation Professionnelle
[Regional Delegation for Vocational Training]

D.U.T.: Diplôme Universitaire de Technologie
[University Certificate in Technology]

GRETA: Groupement d'Etablissements [Group of institutions]

I.U.T.: Institut Universitaire de Technologie
[Technological Institute of Higher Learning]

O.N.I.S.E.P.: Office National d'Information Scolaire et Professionnelle
[National Office for Educational and Vocational Information]

P.A.I.O.: Permanence d'Accueil, d'Information et d'Orientation
[Standing Office for Contact, Information and Guidance]

PAQUE: Préparation Active à la Qualification et à l'Emploi
[Active Preparation to Qualification and Employment]

R.M.I.: Revenu Minimum d'Insertion [Minimum Integration Income]

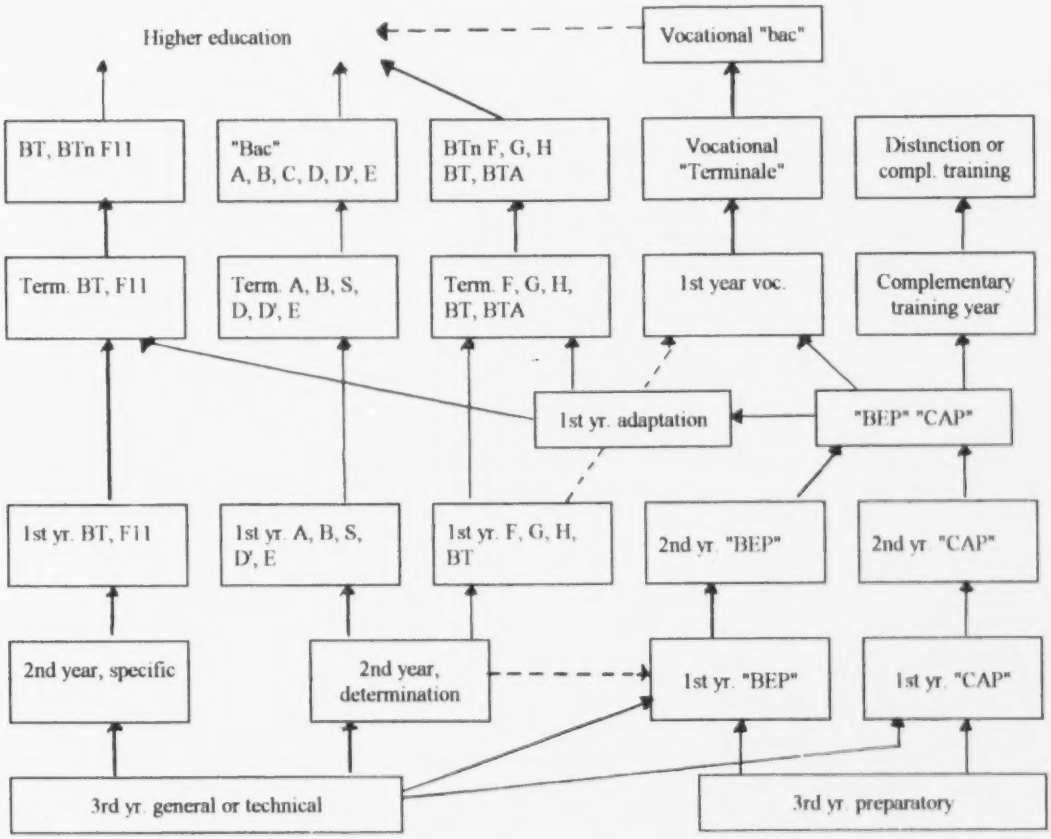
S.E.S.: Section d'Education Spécialisée [Specializied Education Section]

S.I.V.P.: Stage d'Initiation à la Vie Professionnelle
[Initiation to Vocational Life Training Period]

S.T.S.: Section de Technicien Supérieur [Higher Technical Section]

T.U.C.: Travail d'Utilité Collective [Community work]

CHART OF STREAMS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION
(Until the beginning of the 1993-1994 school year)



BT	"Brevet de technicien"	[technician certificate]
BTA	"Brevet de technicien agricole"	[technician certificate in agriculture]
BTn	"Baccalauréat technologique"	[Secondary school-leaving certificate in technology]
BEP	"Brevet d'Etudes Professionnelles"	[certificate of vocational studies]
CAP	"Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle"	[certificate of vocational aptitude]
Voc. "Bac"	"Baccalauréat professionnel"	[Vocational secondary school-leaving certificate]
Term.	"Terminale"	[final senior secondary school year - 13th year]

"Bac" A (A1, A2, A3), B: Economics
C: Mathematics and physical sciences
D: Mathematics and natural sciences
D': Agronomy and technical sciences
E: Mathematics and technology
F: Industrial stream
G: Secretarial, accounting, commercial

F1 & F10: Mecanics
F2 & F3: Electricity and electronics
F4 & F9: Building and public works
F5 & F6: Physics and chemistry
F7: Biology
F8: Medical and social sciences
F11 & F12: Arts and applied arts

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

3 - The five-year law

Main stipulations regarding the training and vocational integration of young people introduced by the five-year law of 20 December 1993 on work, employment and vocational training[1]

FOR THE BENEFIT OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Several of the law's stipulations aim at facilitating young people's entry into active life: apprenticeship procedures have been updated, information measures improved, the right to initial vocational integration confirmed.

Jurisdiction on matters regarding the training and vocational integration of young people will gradually be taken over by the Regions.

WHAT IS NEW

Vocational initiation

- every young person has the right to vocational training prior to leaving school at whatever level

Vocational integration contract

- available to young people aged 26 years or more who have been looking for a job for at least six months
- duration of contract: six months to one year, renewable once
- compulsory tutorage, optional training, set wage/salary as a percentage of normal wage/salary
- special provisions for young holders of a diploma (explained in more detail later)

WHAT HAS DISAPPEARED

Adaptation contract and orientation contract

- abolished as of 1 July 1994

---

1 Source: Inffo Flash - Spécial loi quiquennale - Centre Inffo - December 1993

Local orientation contract

- abolished

WHAT HAS BEEN CHANGED

Vocational initiation classes within an alternance system

- for children of 14 within the school system (instead of 15)
- acquisition of a vocational pre-qualification level through alternance training
- open classes in vocational secondary schools and training centres for apprentices (for details, see end of section)

Information for pupils

- information enabling pupils to develop an educational and vocational orientation project
- information on professions and training opportunities (within the school system or in an alternance system) (for details, see end of section)

Training periods operated by the Regional Council

- qualifying training periods will be offered by Regional Councils starting in 1994
- within the next five years, most of the training schemes for young people run by the State will be decentralized and operated by the Regional Councils

Apprenticeship contracts

- the law stipulates that these contracts must be signed by the employer and the young person prior to the beginning of employment (for details, see end of section)

Information for young people

- contact and information structures will be decentralized and placed under the jurisdiction of the Regional Councils
- single structure to respond to young people's needs in terms of contact, information, guidance and follow-up (for details, see end of section)

WHAT STAYS THE SAME

Alternance employment contract

- employment-solidarity contract specially designed for young people between 18 and 26 who have particularly severe integration problems
- qualification contract, for young people between 16 and 25

Apprenticeship contract

- for young people between 16 and 26
- one to three-year duration

IN THE REGIONS

- The law provides for a transfer of jurisdiction from the State to the Region, on the one hand in terms of vocational training for young people under 26, and on the other hand regarding the network of contact, information and orientation structures for this target group ("Missions Locales", PAIOs).

  The purpose here is to pass on to the Regions the jurisdiction which the State has had on training for young people by transferring the corresponding financial resources. These transfers will be done in two stages.

- The law includes measures for improved local and regional coordination of the activities of various groups: the State, the Region, ANPE, AFPA, networks of contact, information, guidance and follow-up structures for young people.

WHAT IS NEW

A regional plan for the development of vocational training for young people (explained in detail later)

- providing a medium-term response to training needs, to allow for a consistent development of training streams and give young people better access to employment

- developed and approved by the Regional Council in collaboration with State authorities and after consultation with the General Councils and local groups involved, taking into account the economic reality of the Region and the needs of young people

WHAT HAS BEEN CHANGED

Financing

- government funds for training measures for young people under 26 as well as funds allocated to the network of contact, information, guidance and follow-up structures for young people in connection with vocational training will be transferred to the Regions

- these funds will flow into the Regional fund for apprenticeship and vocational training (FRAFP)

Government services

- ANPE and AFPA will be further deconcentrated

- A cooperation agreement between the State authorities, the Regions and ANPE on the one hand and the "Missions Locales" for the social and vocational integration of young people and private or public persons involved in this integration process will make it possible to establish the conditions under which these "Missions Locales" or these persons can fulfil ANPE tasks

ADDITIONAL EXPLANATIONS REGARDING THE CHANGES INTRODUCED BY THE FIVE-YEAR LAW

1 - Vocational initiation

Prior to leaving the education system, and irrespective of the level of schooling a young person may have achieved, he/she must be given the opportunity of receiving vocational training.

This right is meant to give young people access to complete training; it is also intended to improve the relationship between flows of school-leavers and labour market demand, right from the initial training level.

2 - Vocational integration contract

The vocational integration contract replaces the orientation and adaptation contract. Lasting between 6 and 12 months and renewable once, it is aimed at young people under the age of 26 who have been unemployed for at least six months and hold a maximum education level of "baccalauréat" plus two years of training. This contract includes obligatory tutorage, which may be accompanied by a training period equivalent to at least 15 % of the total duration of the contract. Training is compulsory only if the contract is renewed.

This is a subsidized contract, involving reimbursement of half of the social benefit payments when the young person is being trained. Companies can deduct their training expenses from their contributions for training for young people at the rate of 50 francs per training hour (as was the case for the old adaptation and orientation contracts).

The wage/salary received by the holder of the contract is set in terms of a percentage of the regular salary (80 %).

The aim of the vocational integration contract is employment and acquisition of vocational experience.

3 - Other special employment contracts

Among special employment contracts, the local orientation contract, which aimed at encouraging vocational orientation through activities in response to unfulfilled needs of the community, has also been abolished.

Employment-solidarity contracts, qualification contracts and apprenticeship contracts will continue to exist.

3-1. The employment-solidarity contract aims at more seriously disadvantaged target groups, particularly young people aged between 18 and 26 who have particularly severe integration problems.

This is an employment contract developed to promote integration by means of useful activities and to allow young people to develop a vocational project.

It is a temporary, part-time contract, and may include complementary training and lead to "consolidated employment", for which the employer can receive government aid (training funds spent by the employer for the employee hired under "consolidated employment" conditions covered by the government; non-inclusion of staff employed under "consolidated employment" conditions in personnel numbers for taxation and social benefit purposes).

3-1. Qualification contracts and apprenticeship contracts

The objective of these two contracts is to allow young people to acquire a acknowledged qualification and a recognized diploma. Qualification contracts last from 6 to 24 months, apprenticeship contracts between 1 and 3 years; both contracts are open to young people aged between 16 and 26 and are based on alternance training involving in-company training periods and learning in training centres.

Both of these contracts are subsidized contracts (partial or total exemption from employer contributions), for which the contract beneficiary is remunerated according to a variable percentage of the minimum indexed wage based on age and contract seniority.

4 - Pre-vocational initiation alternance classes

Regional development plans for the vocational training of young people provide for pre-vocational initiation classes within an alternance system in vocational secondary schools and apprenticeship centres or in colleges, for

pupils from the age of 14 who are still in the education system and want to obtain a vocational pre-qualification level through alternance training.

At the end of this training period, pupils may be oriented towards alternance training under special employment contract conditions or within the school system.

5 - Pupil information

In order to be able to develop an educational and vocational orientation project, pupils are given information on professions and on the measures required to train for them under special employment contract conditions or within the school system. Providing this information is the responsibility of company heads within the framework of company projects or multi-company projects; making it available is then the joint task of guidance counsellors, teaching personnel, technical education counsellors and representatives of professional organizations, chambers of industry and commerce, trades and agriculture.

The aim of these stipulations is to improve information to pupils regarding alternance training schemes and apprenticeships so as to improve the image of this type of teaching and increase the links between employment and training, while reorganizing information networks regarding educational and vocational orientation.

6 - Regional development plan for the vocational training of young people

This plan covers all training streams for young people preparing to begin employment (initial training leading to a vocational training diploma, apprenticeship, integration or alternance contracts, ongoing vocational training for young job seekers, etc.) and establishes a plan of action through a policy of orientation and guidance. The regional plan is set up by the Regional Council together with the State authorities after prior consultation with employer and employee organizations, the Regional Economic and Social Council, the General Councils, the Academic Council of the Ministry of Education, the Regional Committee for Agricultural Teaching, the chambers of trades, the chambers of industry and commerce and the agricultural chambers.

To this end, the five-year law provides for a gradual transfer of jurisdiction from the State authorities to the Regions in matters pertaining to ongoing vocational training for young people. This transfer will take place in two stages. First of all it will affect qualifying measures for young people, then at the latest five years later, or earlier pursuant to relevant agreements, pre-qualifying

measures and the jurisdiction of the State in terms of the network of contact, information, guidance and follow-up structures in vocational training for young people.

7 - State services

The five-year law provides for the establishment of a "one-stop" contact point where young people under 26 in search of employment or training opportunities can be offered the services relevant to their needs in terms of contact, information and follow-up.

To this purpose, the State, the Regions and ANPE will conclude a cooperation agreement with the "Missions Locales" and with the persons, either private or public, involved in responding to these needs, in particular municipal authorities.

Target groups analysed in the twelve Member States

B	1)	Young people in Charleroi and Wallonian Brabant
	2)	Young people in Brussels
DK	1)	Locked-in, unemployed young people
	2)	Young people dropping out or changing course in the education system
D		Girls and young women when choosing an occupation
GR	1)	Young people who leave school without completing compulsory education
	2)	Young women with no skills training
E	1)	Young women in the autonomous community of Madrid whose chief activity is domestic work in their own homes
	2)	Young people of both sexes affected by industrial reconversion on the left bank of the Bilbao estuary
F	1)	Young people in initial training
	2)	Young job seekers
IRL		Rural disadvantaged youth Case study 1: North Mayo Case study 2: North-West Connemara
I		Low skilled young people
L	1)	Young people in the 9th class of upper secondary technical education
	2)	Young people with supplementary education in the last year of compulsory schooling
NL		Young drifters
P	1)	Young people in their 9th school year
	2)	Young people who have completed their 9th school year and are attending vocational training schools
	3)	Young people with or without school leaving certificate attending alternative training courses
UK	1)	Young people in full-time employment
	2)	Homeless young people

CEDEFOP – European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

Vocational guidance needs for various target groups of young people under the age of 28 in France
Catherine Froissart, François Menard, Yamina Bensadoune
FORS – Recherche Sociale, Paris

CEDEFOP panorama

Berlin: CEDEFOP – European Centre for the
Development of Vocational Training, 1995

1st edition 1995 – 124 pp. – 21.0 x 29.7 cm

EN, FR

free of charge - 5035 EN -

panorama

CEDEFOP

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training
Jean Monnet House, Bundesallee 22, **D-10717 Berlin**
Tel.: 49-30+88 41 20, Fax: 49-30+88 41 22 22,
Telex: 184 163 eucen d

Following a brief overview of the career guidance systems in their countries, the authors of the reports describe a number of target groups of young people under 28 years of age, their economic, social and cultural backgrounds and the problems posed by the transition from school to working life.

A total of 21 target groups from the whole spectrum are examined, ranging from young people with favourable conditions for transition to the most disadvantaged.

A comparison is made between the need for career guidance, the demand coming from these groups and the current offer. The conclusions drawn in the summary report (deficit analyses) provide indications for designing future action programmes at EU level.

Particular attention is paid to mobility and the readiness of young people in this age group (PETRA II) throughout the EU Member States.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE